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THE

MOLLY MAGUIRES.

THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND CHARACTER OF THE ORGANIZATION.

BY

F. P. DEWEES,

A MEMBER OF THE SCHUYLKILL COUNTY BAR.

"There are more things 'twixt heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

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PREFACE.

In the summer of 1873, James McParlan, a young Irishman attached to the Pinkerton Detective Agency at Chicago, was requested by his employers to visit Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, as a detective. He was told that a criminal organization, called the "Molly Maguires," was supposed to be in existence there, and that it was to be his duty to join the organization, and, if possible, learn its character and purposes. McParlan consented to undertake the task, but remarked that he did not believe that an organization such as described was possible. "Schuylkill County is in the mining region, is it not?" he asked. "Yes." "You will find," he said, "that the workmen there make their money hard and spend it freely. On pay-day they get drunk, and whilst they are under the influence of liquor, and in the heat of passion, quarrels arise, and men are sometimes killed; but that does not imply organization, nor is there likely to be the kind of work for a detective among them that is supposed."

He came to the anthracite coal regions with the expectation that in a few months he would be able to satisfy his employers that no such criminal organization as they supposed had any existence. A few weeks' residence there satisfied him that his impressions as to the condition of affairs had been wrong, and that the "Molly Maguires" were a terrible reality.

The criminal character and purposes of the organization have now been shown by indubitable evidence, and its

existence proven. There is much misapprehension prevailing, however, as to the extent of the organization, and very many non-residents of the coal region wrongly confound the members of the "Labor Union" with the "Molly Maguires." Hence it is that in contests between capital and labor they are disposed to array themselves on the side of capital, because they believe that in the coal regions the laborer is lawless. This is rank injustice to the laboring man. The subject of capital and labor presents in the coal regions the same questions as elsewhere.

It is sincerely believed that the great majority of the miners and laborers of the anthracite coal regions will compare favorably with any large body of laboring men in the world, and that the great body of the Irish-American citizens residing there are well-disposed and law-abiding. The laborer of the coal region is not a criminal, nor does he sympathize with criminals.

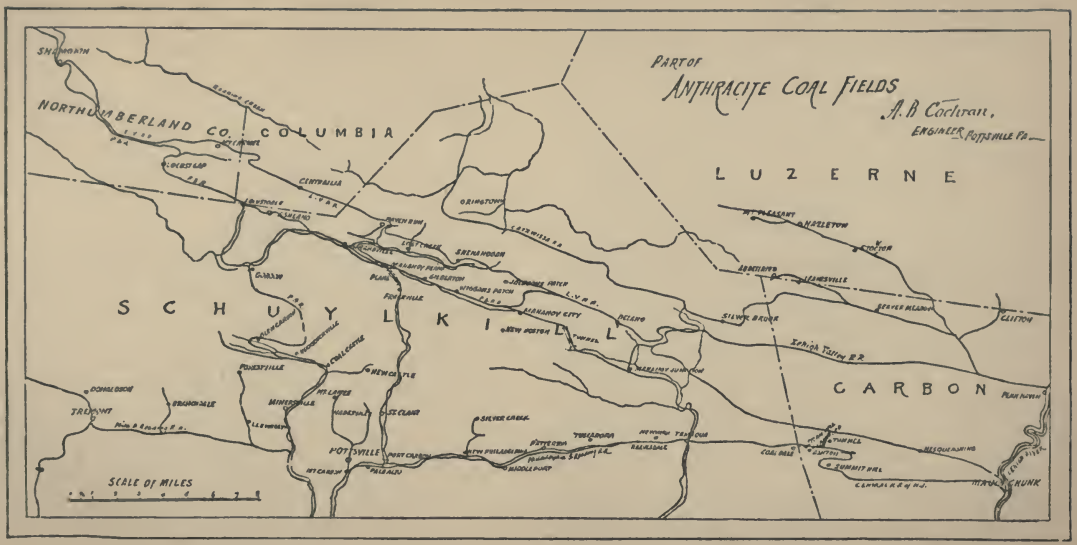
It has been the object of the writer of this book to give an intelligible description of the organization, with some idea of its extent and influence, and to explain how in its operations it affected the business, social, and political relations of the coal regions. He has had to deal with living men, and with events of the present day. He has endeavored to the extent of his ability to treat the subject discussed without prejudice and without bias. From the fact that he was born in the coal region, has lived there the greater part of his life, and has personal acquaintance with very many of those to whom he refers, his effort may not have been entirely successful. He feels conscious, however, that, whilst possibly there may have been a disposition to extenuate, he has not "set down aught in malice."

It would be impossible to give credit for information to all to whom it is due. Whilst valuable aid has been rendered by many, special acknowledgment is to be made to James McParlan, Captain Linden, and Benjamin Franklin,

of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, Hon. F. B. Gowen and F. W. Hughes, General Charles Albright, District Attorney Kaercher, of Schuylkill County, and District Attorney Siewers, of Carbon County, and to J. Claude White and P. W. Sheafer, Esqs.; also to the *Miners' Journal*, *Shenandoah Herald*, and *Evening Chronicle*, for free access to their files; and personal acknowledgment to Thomas Foster and Thomas B. Fulder, Esqs., of the *Shenandoah Herald*.

F. P. D.

POTTSVILLE, December, 1876.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WYOMING
PARSONS
PLAINS
EXETER
HANOVER
LAFLIN
PRINGLE
SUGAR NOTCH
WARRIOR RUN
NANTICOKE

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. PAGE

The Molly Maguire in Ireland and the United States . . . 9

CHAPTER II.

The Anthracite Coal Regions of Pennsylvania 16

CHAPTER III.

Relation of the Labor Union and the Molly Maguire—The Molly Maguire Political and Otherwise 22

CHAPTER IV.

Societies in Ireland and America 36

CHAPTER V.

Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, 1861 to 1865 45

CHAPTER VI.

Schuylkill, Columbia, and Carbon Counties, 1866 to 1871 . . 56

CHAPTER VII.

Coal-Mining Companies—The Pinkerton Agency 69

CHAPTER VIII.

McParlan the Detective 77

CHAPTER IX.

McParlan, continued 87

CHAPTER X.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians 96

CHAPTER XI.

The Long Strike—McParlan, continued 107

CHAPTER XII. PAGE

The Long Strike, continued—The Major Murder—Mahanoy City Convention 121

CHAPTER XIII.

Attempted Assassination of William M. Thomas 133

CHAPTER XIV.

Meeting in the Bush—The Majors—John J. Slattery . . . 144

CHAPTER XV.

The Murder of Policeman Yost 152

CHAPTER XVI.

McParlan at Work—The Murder of Gomer James 164

CHAPTER XVII.

Jack Kehoe—Murder of Gwither—Attempted Murder of Riles . 175

CHAPTER XVIII.

Tamaqua Convention—Who murdered Gomer James?—Sanger Murder arranged—Patrick Butler 182

CHAPTER XIX.

Murder of Sanger and Uren—McParlan on a Committee to murder Jones—Murder of Jones by other Parties—Flight of the Assassins 194

CHAPTER XX.

Arrest of Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly—Their Lives threatened . 206

CHAPTER XXI.

The Molly as a Politician—The Election of 1875 217

CHAPTER XXII.

The Autumn of 1875—Waiting for the Trials 229

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Trial of Doyle—Confession of Kerrigan 241

CHAPTER XXIV.

Arrests of Molly Maguires—McParlan suspected 249

CHAPTER XXV. PAGE

McParlan's Dangers, and his Escape 260

CHAPTER XXVI.

Kerrigan the Informer—The Trial of Kelly—Preparations for the Yost Trial 275

CHAPTER XXVII.

First Trial of the Yost Murderers—More Arrests 285

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Molly Plots—Trial of Alec Campbell—Trial of Thomas Munley—Second Trial of the Yost Murderers 298

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Conspiracy Cases—Trial of Duffy 310

CHAPTER XXX.

Trials of "Mollies"—The Sheet-Iron Gang—Jackson's Patch—Wholesale Confessions—Sentences 322

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Murder of Morgan Powell—Trial of Yellow Jack Donahue . 332

CHAPTER XXXII.

Trials contrasted—The Catholic Church—Has the End come? . 344

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Conclusion 355

APPENDIX.

List of Outrages in Schuylkill and Shamokin Regions . . . 359

Murders in Schuylkill County during the Years 1864, 1865, 1866, and 1867 372

Test of A. O. H. 375

Passwords of A. O. H. 376

Letter of Jack Kehoe to the Shenandoah Herald 379

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES.

CHAPTER I.

THE MOLLY MAGUIRE IN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

Molly Maguire,—a name identified with sad and terrible records of violence, of bloodshed and murders in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, and recalling to memory tales of equal horror that have been borne across the ocean from the Emerald Isle. The murders committed in both localities have a striking resemblance in their inception, execution, and very frequently in minute details, and yet, while we regard the one with a feeling of unmixed horror and repulsion, the memory of the other is enveloped in a shroud of unhallowed romance. This difference of feeling is to a certain extent explainable. In the one case crime stands out unrelieved in its naked enormity, whilst in the other the feeling with which it is regarded is modified by the distance of the scene, the mellowing hand of time, and the magic pen of fiction. The tale of unprovoked and aimless murder in Ireland excites resentment and inspires horror; nevertheless, the peculiar position of the Irish peasant, his modes of thought, and certain characteristics of his race, compel a feeling of repulsive pity for the assassin. Without entering into the merits of the Irish question in relation to England, it is remem-

bered that England and Ireland are bound together by no ties of race, of tradition, or of religion. The one is the Saxon, the other the Celt; the one the conqueror, the other the unwilling subject; the one the Protestant, the other the Catholic.

The Irish peasant yields but enforced allegiance to the house of Hanover, and a species of wild homage is still extended to descendants of Celtic kings, rulers of the Emerald Isle, whose line extended back to times when the Druids erected their altars in primeval forests; to a period long anterior to that in which England became a Norman conquest; to an age preceding its invasion by the Saxon, and its conquest and occupation by the legions and Cæsars of the Roman Empire. To a romantic and impulsive race a history passing back through the vista of centuries into the regions of fable and myth has a present active meaning, whilst the occupation of the "hateful Saxon," extending back but three hundred years, appears only a thing of yesterday.

The Irish peasant to-day, as when first conquered, regards the English landlord as an alien to his race, his country, and his religion; as one to whom only enforced respect is due; his presence is deemed an intrusion, and his title to the land is regarded as being held by a disputed tenure.

Unfortunately, the lapse of centuries has only to a limited degree lessened the asperities created by a union founded in force, without elements of mutual sympathy. The English, self-satisfied beyond any other people on earth, proud of the strength of their country, its enterprise, its wealth, and its civilization, regard with pitying contempt the poverty of their Irish neighbors, their sentimentality, their romance, their brilliant but erratic genius; and this contempt and pity have been exercised, with that offensiveness of which Englishmen alone are capable, upon a people

morbidly and unreasonably prone to take offense even at a fancied slight.

From the days when *Magna Charta* was wrested by the hands of English barons from King John at Runnymede, to the present time, the tendency of England has been towards constitutional freedom. Whilst progress towards that end during the lapse of centuries has not by any means been uniform, still, with stubborn persistency, the Anglo-Saxon race has kept the goal in view, until at the present time the Englishman has a government of which, with all its faults (and they are neither few nor small), he is justly proud. With this trait in the English character the Irishman has no sympathy. When the head of King Charles rolled from the block, the Irishman, unlike his English neighbor, made no consideration of the rights of a people trampled under foot, constitutional guarantees broken, and the liberties of the subject threatened, but only remembered the "heretic" who dared to bid defiance to a king claiming to rule by divine right and uniting in himself the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, with an ancestry like that of their own Celtic chiefs, going back long prior to the time of the Norman conquest. When James II., affrighted at the murmurs of the English people, fled in haste from his throne, to him and to his heirs the Irish heart went forth, and ever ready was the conspirator found in Ireland for the re-establishment of the Stuart line on the English throne. This was in part owing to the fact of the Catholic professions of the family, but attributable as well to the romantic aspect of the story, and to the natural antagonism of the Irish people to the English government.

The Irishman, chafing under English rule, and denying the rights of the royal family on the throne of England, was still further exasperated by the abrogation of the Irish House of Parliament, accomplished—against the manifest

wishes of the people—by the corrupting of its members by means of British gold, patronage, and titles. The bitterness of feeling existing before was by this act of so-called "union" intensified, and conspiracy and insurrection were the natural consequences. Again were they thwarted, and England triumphed not only by force of arms but also by means of the "spy" and the "informer." Submission to England was enforced, but the feeling of discontent remained. The political sufferer who met a felon's death was considered a martyr and a hero, whilst the "informer" was regarded with a feeling of utter detestation, as a traitor not only to the traditions of his race, to his country's honor and his country's future, but also to his family, his religion, and his God. When it is taken into consideration that they regarded their position as one of subjugation, the rulers of England as usurpers, the laws made without authority, and the lands held by an illegal tenure, it may be regretted, but cannot be a matter of great wonder, that the detestation of an "informer," with which an ignorant, prejudiced, and romantic people were imbued, should extend to an informer of any kind. Such, unfortunately, has been the case: to *inform of a crime* has in many instances come to be considered *as great a wrong as the crime itself*, and to such an extent has this feeling developed that it has become a part of the Irish character, and is universal in its application, not only to acts *mala prohibita* but also to those *mala in se*.

Owing to this detestation of an informer, crimes without number have been perpetrated not only in Ireland but also in this country, which have remained undetected and unwhipped of justice. Repeated murders have been committed in broad daylight before many witnesses, and the murderers have dwelt for years amidst those cognizant of the crime,—despised, perhaps, but *unbetrayed*. It is not because the Irish people have not many good and true men

and women among them, or that the majority are not well-disposed and law-abiding citizens; those who are in intimate communion with them know it to be the case that among no other people can there be found warmer friends, more generous impulses, more fervent piety. But they will also know and feel that even among many of the best of the race, among those whose character no man dare impugn or gainsay, whose lives are without blemish or reproach, is but thinly hidden the feeling of detestation against the Irishman as an "informer," who, cognizant of crime, seeks to bring the criminal to justice by due course of law.

By reason of this feeling the Molly Maguire has held "high carnival" in crime, both in Ireland and in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania; and this feeling must be thoroughly appreciated in order to understand how it is that a people of kindly, generous, and just impulses may in a civilized land keep the murderer and assassin among them, known, feared, and detested, and yet the crimes be concealed and the offenders allowed to defy the law and the authorities.

The Molly Maguire of Ireland stands in the birthplace of his ancestors. The history of his race and country, its wrongs, and his temptations, plead in extenuation of his offenses, and, while we detest his crimes, claim our pity for the criminal. But the Molly Maguire of the coal-fields of Pennsylvania can enter none of the pleas which may be urged in behalf of his prototype in Ireland. Upon this country he has no natural claim or natural right. The genius of our government guarantees constitutional freedom to the stranger and the alien as well as to the native-born citizen, and to the stranger and the alien seeking to make this land their home the full rights of the native-born citizen are accorded. The enterprise of the people, combined with a sparseness of population, the vast

expanse of territory, the varied climate, the magnitude of our resources, mineral and agricultural, the extended system of internal improvements and inland navigation, offer inducements to the workers of the world, whether capitalists, men of science, or laborers. It is true that incidentally "a refuge for the suffering and oppressed of all nations" is offered; but this only from the fact that our form of government is liberal and our undeveloped resources present a field for labor; but the doors are opened as wide and the welcome accorded is as hearty to the stranger and the alien who has never suffered nor been oppressed. Throwing off as far as may be the mere shell of time-honored but cumbrous forms, adapted to other ages and other conditions of the people, but seeking to retain the kernel of constitutional freedom inherited from English sires, and availing ourselves of all the progress of the Old World, we take our place young and strong among the nations of the earth. Our aims are high, and we seek no second place. In pursuit of those aims we welcome the citizens of other lands who join us, and accord to them earnest sympathy, equal hopes, and common rights.

But the privileges and advantages of our government and the country, though freely offered to the nations of the earth, are forced on none; the stranger may come and welcome, but if he does not choose to come, his right to stay away is fully accorded. The Irish peasant seeks this country of his own free will, and, being here, has the full rights of the native-born citizen. He is protected in his person; is encouraged to acquire property; his religion is respected; in choosing the rulers and making the laws of the land he has a potent voice. As a laborer, he has special privileges accorded by laws securing the payment of his wages before ordinary and common debts, and in the coal regions, through the medium of Labor Unions and what may be termed the "unwritten law of the

mines," he wields extraordinary power over the property of others.

Whatever rights, real or fancied, he may have had to the Irish soil, he has not even the pretense of claim to any here, except such as he may acquire by virtue of the laws of the land. That under these circumstances the turbulent spirit which created outrages in Ireland should develop itself here in repeated and aimless murders, for years undetected and unpunished, excites unmitigated horror and condemnation.

This feeling is wide-spread and deep, and the indignation excited throughout the counties wherein these outrages have been perpetrated, and through the country at large, can be allayed only by the complete and thorough disbanding of the "Molly Maguires" as an organization, and by evoking and maintaining such a spirit of opposition among the body of the honest and true Irish people as will render the success of such an organization in the future an impossibility.

The murders by the Molly Maguires in the coal regions of Pennsylvania have been revolting, brutal, and cowardly, perpetrated in cold blood, aimless, and without justification, real or imaginary, and must be ever so regarded. That such murders could be conceived and perpetrated is only rendered possible and at all explainable by taking into consideration not only the peculiar training and modes of thought of the Irish peasant, before explained, but also certain peculiarities of his residence in the coal regions. These peculiarities will be hereafter considered.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL REGIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The existence of a band of miscreants regularly organized for the commission of crime, extending throughout the anthracite coal-fields, had been suspected for twenty years past. Frequent and flagrant violations of law, which, in the mode of execution and in the instruments employed, displayed organization, system, and a defined policy, induced this suspicion. The crime itself, in connection with the mode of its execution, rendered inevitable the conclusion of a grievance, real or imaginary, to be redressed, a tribunal before which such grievance had been considered, the offender judged, and the penalty fixed, and an executive of some kind by whom persons were selected to carry into execution the decree determined upon.

In the years directly prior and subsequent to 1830, when the value of anthracite coal was fully recognized as a fuel, an era of speculation in coal lands and coal mining, resembling in its main features the days of the gold fever of 1849 in California, and the later excitement in the oil regions of Pennsylvania, developed itself. The capitalist, the man of enterprise, and the adventurer rushed pell-mell to a mountain region theretofore offering but small inducements to the emigrant, all hoping to realize sudden fortunes from a newly-discovered source of wealth. Flourishing towns sprang into existence as if by magic, speculation ran wild, fortunes were claimed to have been made in a day, and all the influences affecting a mining region at fever heat were here in full being. The heterogeneous character

of a population, native and foreign, suddenly thrown together under an unnatural business stimulus, produced a degree of lawlessness that would appear, from like results elsewhere, to be necessarily incident to such a condition of affairs. Violent altercations, sudden frays, contempt for authority or civilized usage, were frequent; but such violations of law were spasmodic, arising not from organized crime, but from the comparatively unorganized condition of a new population gathered from all points of the compass, acting under undue excitement and not yet settled into the calm routine of civilized life. The art of mining was considered, in those days, as being exclusively within the knowledge of foreigners, and, as a consequence, the foreign miner and laborer were soon in full force in the actual workings of the mines. The great majority of this class of workmen, who at that time, and since, have settled in the coal regions, have proven good and valuable citizens; but with them naturally came the outlaw and the desperado. To this last class is owing the reign of terror under which the coal region for years past has suffered .

After the first wild excitement had passed, when society had become more thoroughly organized, and coal mining had settled into a legitimate business,—subject, however, to alternate periods of great reverses and unexampled prosperity,—a peculiar distribution of population took place, which has not, perhaps, its parallel in any other portion of the United States.

The anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania, generally recognized as the "Northern," "Middle," and "Southern" coal basins, are comprised within or bounded by a line of mountain, which, forming itself some distance eastward from Mauch Chunk, takes, under the name of the "Second Mountain," a southwesterly course to the Susquehanna River, leaving the towns of Mauch Chunk, Tamaqua, Pottsville, and Tremont to the north; thence

in a northeasterly course, as the "Peters Mountain," to a point nearly southwest from Tower City; thence northwestwardly, as "Berrie's Mountain," again crossing the Susquehanna; thence southeastwardly to Taylorsville, as the "Mahantongo Mountain;" thence northwestwardly again, in the direction of the Susquehanna, as the "Line Mountain;" thence, bearing in a southeasterly direction, as the "Little Mountain" (a misnomer), leaving Shamokin, Ashland, Shenandoah, and Mahanoy City to the south, to a point in Union Township, Schuylkill County. Here the mountain runs almost due north for some miles as the Catawissa Mountain, when its course is again changed to southeasterly as the Nescopeck Mountain; thence north and northwest as the Wyoming Mountain, and thence again in an easterly direction, running north of Wilkesbarre and Scranton, as the Shickshinny Mountain. Within the area inclosed by this mountain lies all the at present discovered anthracite coal of Pennsylvania. It embraces not only the large basins before named, but also a number of comparatively small detached coal-fields. The investigations of recent years have shown these detached basins to be so numerous and extensive as to warrant the assertion of but one coal-field, inclosed within the line of mountain before described, yielding coal wherever sufficient geological height is attained. Within this area are inclosed the coal-producing portions of Carbon, Schuylkill, Dauphin, Northumberland, Columbia, and Luzerne Counties, and it is to a great extent occupied by a series of majestic mountains, the Sharp, the Broad, the Big Mahanoy, the Little Mahanoy, the Locust, the Green, the Macauley, and others.

In the red shale measures, lying beneath the coal conglomerates, there have been attempts made at cultivation, and in Luzerne County, where the surface of the ground is not broken as elsewhere throughout the coal region, a

number of good farms are located in the midst of the coal measures. The arable land, however, bears but a very small proportion to the great mountain-ranges, rich in coal and other minerals, which present insurmountable obstacles to the agriculturist in sides of rough, hard conglomerate rock. Not only is the amount of tillable land limited, but what there is of it is not fully utilized by a population whose primary aim is the development of mineral resources, who have but little knowledge of husbandry and less taste for the patient toil of the husbandman. Not only are the farms confined to a few localities, but sites for building-purposes convenient to the mining operations or collieries are sometimes difficult to obtain, owing to the rough and jagged surface of the country. This fact those who have visited Pottsville, Mauch Chunk, and Ashland can readily understand. The physical formation of the country, in connection with the nature of the business of mining coal, which necessitates the employment of large bodies of men at fixed points, has gathered together the immense population of the coal region in cities, towns, and large settlements.*

Miles in extent, displaying nature either in its original grandeur or defaced by the hand of the woodsman, frequently intervene, not only between settlements, but between any habitations of man. This situation of affairs does not strike the visitor to the coal region with surprise, for the explanation is patent on the face of the country itself; but, in connection with other causes, it tends to

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* By the census of 1870, the population of the counties in which anthracite coal is found was as follows, viz., Carbon, 28,144; Schuylkill, 116,428; Northumberland, 41,444; Luzerne, 160,755. Since the census of 1870 the population of these counties has very largely increased. No account is here taken of the population of Dauphin and Columbia Counties, where important coal operations are located, but which are in extent agricultural rather than mining counties.

show the possibility of a state of affairs there which, in a rich agricultural country, where every foot of the surface of the ground is the object of man's care and is made subservient to man's wants, or even in a densely-populated city, under proper police regulations, would be regarded as impossible. From the midst of a dense population it is but a step to mountain-ranges within whose recesses the criminal may hide for weeks or months undisturbed and undetected. Not only do the physical character of the country and the nature of the business employment tend to render the population gregarious, but this result is also, to a certain extent, necessitated by the additional facilities thereby gained in obtaining supplies of the necessaries of life. The fuel with which they are warmed is before them, but the food they eat, both animal and vegetable, the clothes they wear, and all that is required for every other material want, must frequently be brought from a great distance. By living in settlements such supplies can therefore be more readily obtained.

Not only is the singular feature presented of nearly the whole population of the coal regions living in cities, towns, and small settlements, oftentimes called "patches," but the character and habits of the population in the several settlements differ widely from each other. Scranton, Wilkesbarre, Mauch Chunk, Pottsville, and Tamaqua are all business centres, wherein are located banks, manufacturing establishments, the general offices of railroad and coal companies, large stores, and where, to a great extent, the wealth of the region naturally clusters. These cities and towns are not only business centres, but offer additional inducements, social, educational, and religious, to the coal operator and those whose means enable them to retire from business, in the selection of a place of residence. As a consequence, they have lost, in a great degree, the distinctive character of mining settlements, and differ, perhaps, from other

places of equal size throughout the country only in being more cosmopolitan; this arising from the wide range embraced by their business operations and the varied character of the inhabitants. Towns such as Ashland, Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, Minersville, St. Clair, Hazleton, Pittston, Plymouth, and many others of large population, to a certain degree partake of the character of business and social centres, but the mining classes, being largely in the majority, regulate and control them. Besides these two classes of towns there are a great number of "patches," or settlements, whose population is entirely composed of miners and laborers and those whose business is either directly or indirectly connected with the mines. While the admixture of the foreign element pervades every part of the region, in the large cities and towns native-born citizens of the United States hold control, but at the colliery towns the power of the foreigner is absolute. In these last still further divisions are made, some being almost exclusively composed of Irishmen, with natives of Queens and other counties, Ireland, largely in the majority. In such towns not only have the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the Irish people been transplanted, but even the local prejudices incident to certain localities in that beautiful but, in many respects, unfortunate land. Coming here fresh from the contest with the landlord and land-agent in Ireland, with no surrounding influences to teach them their error, they transfer a prejudice which has grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength to the coal operator and the boss, from whom they derive their subsistence, and under whose direction they work. Taught from infancy to believe that as against them capital is never used except as an instrument of oppression, under the influence, sometimes, of real wrongs, but more frequently under a mistaken belief of an encroachment upon their rights, a spirit of resistance is aroused, which wicked and

designing wretches have so used and controlled as to render the undetected commission of horrid crimes not only easy but, to a certain extent, sympathized with. That the above is no justification for such a state of affairs is true; nevertheless, it explains, or tends to explain, the possibility of its existence.

CHAPTER III.

RELATION OF THE LABOR UNION AND THE MOLLY MAGUIRE—THE MOLLY MAGUIRE POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE.

For the purpose of showing the possibility of the successful organization and working of the "Molly Maguire" association at this period in the world's history, in a section of the country densely populated, and teeming with mineral wealth of vast importance to the progress and growth of the nation, where business has settled into legitimate channels, where law is respected and maintained by the vast majority of the community, where capital to the amount of hundreds of millions is invested and wields its strong arm in maintenance of the rights of person and property, some reference to certain characteristics and prejudices of the Irish peasant, created and nurtured in his native land, appeared unavoidable. It has also been deemed necessary to explain how, by reason of the physical formation of the coal regions, the nature of coal mining and the method of carrying it on, settlements have sprung into existence not only composed of Irishmen, but representing also, to a great extent, localities in that country, each with its local ideas and prejudices,—Ireland itself, as it were, transported to the coal regions. It must not be understood that any imputation or reflection is intended against the

character of the miners and laborers of the coal regions. Such laborers are composed in the main of foreigners,—German, English, Scotch, Welsh, Poles, and Irish,—and the assertion is made without fear of contradiction, that in no large laboring community in the world can there be found better citizens or more abiding respect for law and order than among the majority of the coal miners of the anthracite regions. Nor is there any intention in any way to attack the Irish element or the Irish people. To do so would be in the face of the fact that Ireland is pre-eminently the land in which orators, poets, statesmen, and soldiers have claimed a birthplace or to which they trace their lineage. As a nation they are warm-hearted, generous, and impulsive to a fault; brave, romantic, and enthusiastic. Among no other people can be found examples of greater heroism or of more sublime self-sacrifice. No heart beats more sympathetically to a tale of suffering, and no hand responds more kindly to the claim of family, friend, or kindred. "Their men are brave and their women are chaste," has ever been recognized as to them no unmeaning eulogy. In their very faults they oftentimes display their virtues, and those who have examined most thoroughly into the inside workings of the "Molly Maguire" organization can recognize in many of their crimes, dark, foul, and damnable though they are, traces of a perverted chivalry. It is from no mean or ignoble characteristic in the Irish people that has arisen the prejudice under the influence of which they class the witness who testifies as to the commission of crime in which he had no part with the "informer" who first instigates and then betrays. Nor is the impulse wholly bad which stands in behalf of the honor of old Ireland, of race and of religion, in earnest support of a criminal through good report and through evil report, in whose deeds they have no part, whose crimes they abhor, and whose professions

of religion are felt to be a stigma and a disgrace. To despise meanness, to maintain confidence, to revere country, to cherish family and kindred, to uphold religion, are all virtues of the highest order, and yet the perversion of these virtues has rendered the existence of the "Molly Maguires" a possibility. The order is composed entirely of Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen, professing the Roman Catholic faith, and yet their crimes are regarded with intense horror by the body of the Irish people, and against the order the Church has hurled its fiercest anathemas, denouncing its members as outlaws, and denying them Christian burial. That despite such sentiment of the people and such action on the part of the Church the society should grow and flourish is to be accounted for, as before stated, in a romantic and perverted exercise of impulses founded on virtues.

The magnitude and length of the "strikes" in the coal region, combined with the influence of those "strikes," not only on business but also on domestic interests, throughout a very large section of the country, have drawn special attention to the "Laborers' and Miners' Union," and an impression has to some extent obtained that the "Labor Union," if not identical, is at least in earnest sympathy with the "Molly Maguires." The only color for such a charge exists in the fact that the great majority of the "Mollies" belong to the "Union," and that the counsels of such members were naturally for violent rather than peaceable redress, and, further, that most of the notorious outrages committed by "Mollies" were against capital, as represented in property or in the persons of superintendents and bosses. It is also true that decrees of the "Union" were enforced under the influence of a fear of violence against the disobedient, whether members of the "Union" or not,"—a fear strengthened by the marching of bodies of men from colliery to colliery, demanding an

immediate stoppage of work, and the necessity that has arisen to call at different times upon the executive of the State for the military to preserve the peace and protect property. Nevertheless, the charge of sympathy or willing co-operation of the "Labor Union," as a body, with the "Mollies," is believed to be without foundation.

Public attention has been specially called, as before remarked, to the "Unions" of the anthracite coal-fields, owing to the wide-spread effect of their actions upon the public at large; but in the principles upon which they are founded, and in their government and general administration, they are nearly, if not quite, identical with the various labor and trades unions which have been formed by almost every branch of labor, trade, and mechanic art in this country and in Europe.

A charge against them of crime by reason of their organization could be brought with equal force against every association of a similar character here and elsewhere, and would bring up every vexed and mooted question in relation to capital and labor, the discussion of which would be foreign to the present subject. It may be observed, however, just here, that the tendency of the age appears to be to centralization, and that capital, which is condensed labor, is centralized or combined in great corporations, that such corporations combine with one another in furtherance of whatever end may be in view, and that that end may frequently be subversive of the interest of the laboring man or artisan.

To admit the right of combination for the protection of capital, and deny it for the protection of labor, would seem neither logic nor justice, and this view, both statute law and courts, exercising, as they properly should, a fostering care over labor, have upheld.*

* A combination of employers to depress the wages of journeymen

But be the merits of the question what they may, as has been before stated, the great body of the miners and laborers of the coal region, albeit mostly foreigners, and very many of those foreigners Irish, will compare favorably with any other large body of laborers, bound by a common interest, and forming the mass of communities, in the world. Whether judging wisely or unwisely of their true interest, very many, and in some sections the large majority, of the best of such workingmen belong to the "Union."

Nor are these men mere ignorant "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Education, it is true, is not so generally diffused among them as among Americans of the present or foreigners of the rising generation, but instances of a high degree of culture are by no means rare, and shrewdness and common sense are usual.

These men are not murderers, neither do they sympathize with murder, and none more earnestly rejoice than

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below what they would be if there was no recurrence to artificial means by either side, is criminal.—Commonwealth *vs.* Carlisle, Gibson, J., Brightly's Reports, 41.

It must be evident, therefore, that an association is criminal when its object is to depress the price of labor below what it would bring if it were left without artificial excitement by either masters or journeymen to take its chance in the market. . . . A combination to resist oppression, not merely supposed but real, would be perfectly innocent.—*Ibid.*, 42.

There are a variety of British precedents of indictments against journeymen for combining to raise their wages, and precedents rank next to decisions as evidence of the law; but it has been thought sound policy in England to put this class of the community under restrictions so severe, by statutes that were never extended to this country, that we ought to pause before we adopt their law of conspiracy as respects artisans.—*Ibid.*, 37.

Shaw, C. J.: The averment is this: that the defendants and others formed themselves into a society, and agreed not to work for any person who should employ any journeyman or other person not a member of such society, after notice given him to discharge such workman. The manifest intent of the association is to induce all those engaged in the same occupation to become members of it. Such purpose is not unlawful.—Commonwealth *vs.* Hunt *et al.*, 4 Metcalf, 128.

they in the belief that a reign of terror is over, and that law and order will rule instead.

While it is not and cannot be denied by the "Labor Union" that many of the "Mollies" belong to the association, it is a matter of congratulation that only a few of those at present recognized as criminals do so.

And yet it may be that from the manner of enforcing "strikes," in the early history of the coal region, arose the idea among fugitives from justice, and those who had been members of kindred organizations when in Ireland, of the practicability of a society for the perpetration of crime and the defeat of the course of justice.

As has been stated, in the early history of the coal trade, when speculation ran wild, when society was forming itself, when an El Dorado was sought in mountains of rock, whose geology was then an unsolved riddle and is even now not fully understood, and which offered no attraction except to the angler, the adventurous tourist, or the artist, scenes of turbulence, crime, and violence were by no means rare. But crime was spasmodic, and such as generally accompanies speculative fever in the early days of mining enterprise.

Since anthracite coal mining has become regularly established, it is doubtful whether any great interest of the country has been so subject to sudden fluctuation as the coal business. In its successful working a very large amount of capital is now and has been required, and yet, as a rule, the coal operator or lessee of coal land (for the owner has seldom mined his own lands) has been a man of enterprise and dash rather than capital. At times the profits arising from mining coal have been exceedingly large, and for the chances of such periods great risks have been taken, and frequent and heavy failures have been a natural consequence.

With the fluctuations of the trade fluctuated the de-

mand for, and wages of, labor. In periods of prosperity every available hand was employed, at almost fabulous rates, and a heavy draft made on the surplus labor not only of this country but also of Europe. In times of reverses occurred long days of enforced idleness, with thousands out of employment, in a section of country affording comparatively little agricultural or other recourse beyond mining.

The adjustment of wages, therefore, has always been an open field for controversy between the employer and employed, and misunderstandings and utter estrangement have too often been the consequence; the employer looking upon his men as totally regardless of his interests or his misfortunes, and the men, on their part, viewing the employer as the representative of capital, ever seeking to degrade and trample under foot the rights of labor. The few direct points of contact, the different places of residence, the different modes of life and associations, intensified a state of feeling which was frequently taken advantage of and controlled by ruffians, understanding little and caring less for the issues at stake, who instigated deeds of violence, either in a wanton spirit of evil or to subserve private ends.

In consequence of large bodies of workingmen residing in distinct communities and at distant points, and between whose members existed a friendship in many instances formed beyond the ocean, but who had no acquaintance or intercourse with any coal operators, superintendents, or bosses other than their own, a system of enforcing dangerous or unlawful demands grew into being. For example, a demand for higher wages being made and refused, the parties so demanding would remain apparently acquiescent, either for the reason that no open conflict would be desired with the employer, or that a movement to enforce such demand did not receive the full sanction of the whole body of work-

men, without whose active aid and co-operation it would be ineffectual. The next movement would be to write anonymous letters, delivered by a secret hand, or posted on the coal-breaker, or other building attached to the works, warning obnoxious parties, and generally containing threats of personal violence. Such letters or notices usually contained rude drawings of coffins and of pistols, and have attained wide-spread notoriety, both in this country and in Ireland, as "coffin notices." If these notices were disregarded, personal notice would be given, requiring a "strike," or whatever might have been determined upon, by strangers from a distant colliery, unknown to all not immediately engaged in the conspiracy. Upon those still refusing to obey, further notice was sometimes served, but at once the full force of social ostracism would be brought to bear upon them as enemies of the workingman, frequently followed by waylayings, abuse, and fearful beatings.

And here let it be remarked that it is a great error to assume that the evil deeds of the band of miscreants who have infested the coal regions have been altogether against persons and property representing capital. Their iron rule was felt by all, the high and the low alike, and many a poor laboring man has suffered untold hardships, his life rendered a curse from constant fear, or has met unexpected death at their hands in some unnoticed brawl.

The perpetrators of the outrages were generally disguised and unknown to the victim, and escape to the woods was easy. In those rare cases where a clue to the criminal was found or suspected, and the offender brought to the bar of justice, the ever-convenient "alibi" was ready, and a verdict of "not guilty" was compelled. It can readily be understood how in such a condition of affairs the peaceable and well-disposed should succumb to the rule of the desperado and the ruffian, the more especially as the peculiar views relative to "informers" held by that large class

of the laboring population represented by Irishmen rendered the detection of crime still more difficult.

Nor is it strange that crime, being a success, and going unwhipped of justice, should develop in strength, seek organization, and revel in the madness of Satanic power. A whisper of such organization spread abroad, and the names of "Buckshot"* and "Molly Maguire" became household words, inspiring far greater wonder and terror in the cot of the laborer than in the mansion of the wealthy or among the residents of the larger towns.

It is not generally understood, but it is believed to be a fact, that as some protection against this organization very many of the best disposed of the miners and laborers joined the "Labor Union." Through it they sought a power by which the actions of an unknown and irresponsible set of men could be controlled, and through it they hoped to be enabled to have some voice in questions of labor which affected their very existence. Such action on their part was not only natural but proper; their labor was their capital and their life, and to have some influence as to its direction was their first desire. The end in view was, however, but partly accomplished. Shortly after the breaking out of the war an era of prosperity in coal-mining interests commenced, which continued for some years. Wages were high and labor was in demand, and little if any attention was paid to the character of the laborer employed.

The "Labor Unions" increased in numbers, combined, extended their connections, and became arrogant.

This state of affairs gave to the worst element in that organization, the idle, the vagabond, and the criminal, undue power and influence.

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*The "Buckshots" and "Mollies" are identical. The name first adopted in the coal region was that of "Buckshot." The organization can be traced back to 1854 or 1855, and even earlier.

It is natural for man to avail himself of power, and the power of labor was in the ascendant. Encroachment after encroachment was made upon the rights of the employer, until it came to be claimed that no man should be employed and no man discharged except as sanctioned by the "Union." The manner of working, the hours of working, the superintendents and the bosses, were held to be under their control and subject to their direction. They claimed a right to fix a rate of wages and times of payment, without at the same time according to the employer the privilege of refusing their demands and employing others in their stead. Some of these acts are attributable to the circumstances which gave them the power, and others to the pernicious influence of the band of criminals who foisted themselves among them. Whilst it is an act of simple justice to the leaders of the "Labor Union" to acknowledge that, as a general rule, the true interests of the workingman, from their stand-point, were sought to be obtained peaceably and through compromise, and whilst in such efforts they had the approval of the great body of the society, unreasonable demands were pressed through the influence and granted through fear of the "Molly Maguire."

Under the influence of organization and of general prosperity, the "Mollies" increased in numbers and in power. Throughout the coal regions they completely controlled the organization known as the A. O. H., or Ancient Order of Hibernians, and, using that order as a cloak, endeavored to increase still further their numbers and their influence, on the pretext that the order is chartered by the Legislature for legal and proper purposes as a benevolent association. The ambition of the leaders among them, many of whom deserted labor and the mines for the more congenial and influential positions of small tavern and saloon keepers, kept pace with their increased power. They

sought not only to control the movements of the "Labor Union," to inspire whole coal-mining interests with a fear of their displeasure, but also to have a potent voice in politics, township, county, State, and national. The most direct object of their ambition existed in the management of township affairs and the funds arising from road and school taxes. Lands having an immense salable value, as high as five hundred dollars, one thousand dollars, and even upwards, per acre, were under their influence and control, as subjects of assessment and the collection of taxes. Possessed of but little taxable property themselves, these lands, especially in the way of the fund arising from road-taxes, were of immense importance in advancing the power and influence of the society.

A road once constructed on a barren, rocky soil, such as the coal region as a general rule presents, costs but little to keep in repair, and yet the taxes assessed and levied have in some instances been as high as twelve hundred dollars per mile in a single year. This money has been used not only as a fund by dishonest township officials, but also in the interest of parties who only nominally worked upon the roads. The misapplication of school funds has not been so flagrant and so extensive as that of those collected for road purposes. It has nevertheless been a power in perpetuating the reign of terror under which the coal regions have been held. In county politics they have, in a number of instances, urged with much force members of the organization as candidates for leading offices, and in Schuylkill County succeeded in three instances in electing "Mollies" to the office of County Commissioner, an office of great importance, as one of the powers of the Board of Commissioners is that of appointing the collectors of county taxes.* In Schuylkill County also, in one instance, a no-

* In Carbon County two "Mollies" have at different times held the

torious "Molly," now convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors, succeeded in receiving the nomination for Associate Judge, and only failed of the election by a few hundred votes out of a poll of many thousands. In every election they have exercised a corrupting influence, by the demand of money or promises antecedent to their support. For State and national offices, townships have been put up for sale to the highest bidder, and the vote delivered according to contract. Rumors of a vote to be given on account of a pardon to be extended to some offender or offenders whom no perjury could save from the meshes of the law, have been common; and such pardon, following quickly after the result of an election has become known, has given those rumors a force and effect they would not otherwise possess.

From both of the great political parties money has been demanded in exchange for their support, and it is to be feared that members of both parties have yielded to their unjust demands. With township offices and township funds under their absolute control, with county officials under their influence, their votes sought and purchased at State and national elections, their crimes rarely detected, and when detected often pardoned, it is hardly matter of wonder that throughout the coal regions crime held high carnival, that fraud was permitted without question, and that the murderer shot down his victim in the broad light of day and in the presence of many witnesses with scarcely a care for concealment.

The overgrown power of the "Labor Union," and the burdensome taxation imposed upon real estate through the influence of the "Molly" organization, as well as a general feeling of insecurity as to life and property, made

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office of County Commissioner, and a "Molly" also succeeded in being elected to the State Legislature. Both the Democratic and the Republican party have been victimized.

the surrender of individual operators to the policy of great coal mining and transporting companies of comparatively easy accomplishment. The owner of productive coal lands, wearied by the continual struggle between his tenants and the men, whereby his income was seriously impaired, was glad to sell his lands at a moderate figure in comparison to their true value, whilst the owner of unproductive lands, borne down by taxes, and seeing no hope in the future, was glad, at a comparatively small price, to dispose of property that was becoming an intolerable burden. The masses of the people of this country have witnessed with great misgivings the increasing power of these overgrown monopolies; but, dangerous as their great powers may become if vested in unscrupulous hands, it may well be doubted if through any other means the evils that had sprung into existence could have been rooted out. The control and management of the mines, the manner of their working, the right to employ and discharge hands, were passing away from the owners, and were fast vesting in, not the "Labor Union" proper, but the "Labor Union" under the direction of the "Molly Maguires."

The great companies combined in a struggle for the ownership of their property, and in the struggle have been materially assisted by the prostration of business under which we at present suffer; but it is only at this time, after long and careful preparation, that the blow has been struck which has broken down an organization as terrible as any in the world's history. The detailed statement of events connected with the existence of that organization reads like a horrible tale of a past age, of the Thug of India, the Bandit of Italy, the Buccaneer of the Spanish main, of scenes afar from civilization, where law was powerless to defend or punish. That in the second half of the nineteenth century, in one of the richest and most populous regions of Pennsylvania, with courts of justice in full force,

and the majority of citizens ready and willing to execute the law, property should be held by only a nominal ownership, freedom of action be denied to thousands under fear of sudden and dreadful death, and the incendiary and assassin attempt their hellish work in the broad glare of day, would seem utterly incredible, and yet, difficult as it is to realize, it is true.

By the great body of the workingmen of the coal regions the maintenance of the rights of property was, if not welcomed, at least cheerfully accorded in. But with the prostration of business the "Molly" seemed to madden in his career of crime, and to become fairly drunken with blood. Deeds of arson and murder were planned in rapid succession; some were foiled, but many were executed. Men for merely acting in obedience to orders, or in the line of official duty, were shot down like dogs. Murder was deemed worthy of reward, and he who committed the greatest number and most terrible of crimes took the highest social rank in this fearful band. No man's life was felt to be safe; vigilance committees were being formed, and probably most fearful retaliation would have been meted out, in which, it may be, the innocent would have suffered with the guilty, when the arrest of the murderers of John P. Jones, of Lansford, still fresh from the scene of blood, revived hopes that justice, according to the forms of law, was still possible. The result has justified these hopes. The confessions of the criminals, the testimony of James McParlan the detective, the energetic and thorough action of the Wilkesbarre Coal and Iron Company and the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and the firm attitude maintained by court and jury in the discharge of duty, all render evident the glorious truth that the story of "Molly Maguire" outrages has passed into history, and that the power of the organization for evil is broken forever.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIETIES IN IRELAND AND AMERICA.

It is doubtful whether the "Ribbon" society in Ireland, terrible as is its record, even in the days of its greatest strength, ever attained a moiety of the power and influence reached by the "Molly Maguires" of the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania during the past fifteen years. This is perhaps owing to the fact that the Irish peasant in the land of his nativity, discontented and turbulent, for centuries has been held under subjection and control by the strong hand of England. Living on the same estate, and frequently in the same miserable cot, occupied by generations of his ancestors, poor and down-trodden, his means of intercourse with distant points were limited and rendered dangerous through the "spy" and "informer" in the constant employ of the authorities. Taught, however, the full value of combination through the various conspiracies instigated by the exiled House of Stuart, under the control and management of French emissaries, organizations more or less powerful were effected. Such organizations, however, although co-operating, bearing the same name, and having the same general object in view, never attained the same power of combination as that reached by the Molly Maguire in the comparatively limited area of the anthracite coal-fields, with its immense population and rapid means of transit from point to point.

Among the emigrants to this country, it must be borne in mind, an undue proportion of the discontented class of Irish peasants found their way. The ravages occasioned by the potato-rot in Ireland in 1846 were too great to be borne

by an overcrowded population already fearfully pressed by poverty. Naturally they turned abroad for relief, and the United States, offering a broad field for labor at remunerative wages, was looked upon as a "harbor of refuge." The necessity of some means of relief was recognized by all classes, the landlord as well as the tenant, and such relief was felt to be in a course of systematized emigration. As a consequence, on some estates inducements to emigrate were offered and a portion of the expenses defrayed by the landlord. In some instances emigration was practically required, and where this was the case it can readily be understood that coercive means were applied to the criminal or the turbulent. It was not uncommon to collude in the flight of criminals from the country, and to offer aid and advice to those suspected of criminal acts to save themselves from prosecution by a voyage across the ocean.

In many instances those who had been lawless under the influence of bad association and dire necessity in Ireland have, by counter-influences in this land, developed into good and valuable citizens. But in too many cases a turbulent spirit of resistance to lawful authority, together with a morbid suspicion and fear of encroachments upon their rights and privileges, has developed itself into a wild and unreasoning cry for justice where no oppression was intended or offered, and has resulted in deeds of fearful crime, which have tended to sully the Irish name and thrown a stain—unjustly, it is contended and believed—on the Irish character. The spirit and genius of our civilization and laws are not repressive; with us, the most effective rules of conduct are enforced by public sentiment, stronger far than penal statute, court of justice, or minister of law, and that sentiment, as a general rule, is overwhelmingly in favor of submission to lawful authority. By reason of this general disposition on the part of the whole body of the people, associations and societies, secret and other-

wise, for almost every conceivable purpose, are sanctioned by the law and are regarded with no suspicion.

The A. O. H., or Ancient Order of Hibernians, a society regularly incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania as a beneficial association, and connecting itself with divisions of the order throughout the United States and Great Britain, has been controlled throughout the greater portion of the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania for a few years past by the class of Irishmen known as the Molly Maguires. Through the medium of this order a thorough and complete organization of the worst classes throughout the coal region has been effected. The avowed object of the society as a beneficial association has been, so far as can be learned, entirely dropped, and in the heart of the most populous towns, before the eyes of the whole community, conventions have been held in which crimes have been planned, considered, and approved, and murder agreed to be rewarded.

It was by means of this organization, through which unity of action was attainable, that a political influence was acquired that for a time seemed to render the Molly Maguire omnipotent for evil. That the society has existed in some form and under various names as far back as 1855, or perhaps before, there is little doubt, but prior to 1862 or 1863 it was confined to particular localities, and, although the instrument of much evil, had not reached the degree of arrogant confidence attained in after-years, and only now shaken by the terrible revelations in regard to its true objects and character.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians is a society having a large membership throughout the United States and Great Britain. It is said to contain among its active members men of high character and unblemished lives, and the avowed object of its formation is not only lawful but good. There is no conclusive evidence which connects the order

outside of the coal region with criminal acts, in this country or in Great Britain, and it is but simple justice, until the contrary is shown, to believe that the name and charter of the association were taken possession of by the "Molly" outlaws in violation of the general principles of the order.* It is true that it is a matter in testimony in a case of "conspiracy to commit murder," tried in Schuylkill County in August, 1876, that the leading officers of the order in the city of New York used money belonging to the association to aid a criminal member in fleeing from justice. A charitable view of the transaction would ascribe so unwarrantable an act to individual sympathy of men in what was seemingly a benevolent act, rather than to recognized official authority to defeat the ends of justice. It is alleged, however, that the national delegates at New York have assessed the sum of five dollars on each division of the order—some six thousand in number—throughout the United States, making in the aggregate the sum of thirty thousand dollars, to defray the expenses of the defense of the "Mollies" charged with crime in the coal region. This has produced open revolt in the case of one division, and their action in making the assessment is regarded by the public generally with strong disapproval. It is, however, by no means conclusive evidence of either the sympathy or complicity of the order generally in criminal acts. Men, however criminal, are entitled to all the protection the law affords, and are justly entitled to a fair trial and the benefit of able counsel. That some such feeling rather than a consciousness of common guilt controlled what must be considered under the circumstances the ill-advised

* John J. Slattery, an influential member, testified at Mauch Chunk, October 21, 1876, as follows, viz.: "I have it from members and county delegates, and others, that the entire organization from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Maine, is criminal in its character."

action of the national delegates, it is but fair to assume. That the order throughout this country and Great Britain has not openly and officially repudiated and denounced those who in the coal regions have brought a lasting stigma and disgrace upon the organization, is not so readily understood. To do so would appear natural as a means of self-protection and self-justification; that it has not been done is a matter of deep regret to those who are sincerely and earnestly anxious to believe that no considerable body of American citizens, whatever may be the place of their nativity, sympathize with ruffians, incendiaries, and assassins. Had the lodges or chapters of any other organization in the United States been proven to have used their organization in a manner contrary to the purposes of its creation, and to have been guilty of one tithe of the crimes already proven to have been committed under the sanction of divisions of the A. O. H. in Schuylkill, Northumberland, and Carbon Counties, earnest and open disavowal would have been instant and thorough, by the official action of the organization at large, and by the individual members of it. That denunciation has not followed the exposure of crime in this instance is only explainable—consistently with entire innocence—by keeping in view the clannish character of the Irish people, their thorough detestation of the "informer," and a mistaken sense of honor, which would characterize the desertion of the coal-region fiends in the hour of their overthrow as cowardly and base.

It is to be hoped that before these remarks are published to the world such disavowal shall have been made. That there should be any question whatever on the subject serves to illustrate to some extent a power and influence of the "Molly" organization painful to acknowledge.

Whilst the Molly Maguire of the United States, in his inception of crime, in his method of notifying the intended victim, and in his mode of perpetration of outrage,

bears a striking likeness to his prototypes, the Ribbonman and Molly Maguire of Ireland, it is believed that no other connection exists.

The Ribbon Society, whose deeds fill so large a space in the annals of crime in Ireland, was organized in maintenance of what were claimed to be the just and inalienable rights and privileges of the tenants relative to the landed estates. As has been before stated, the education of the Irish peasant, his religion, and a prejudice, the growth of centuries, induces a hatred to English rule, and especially to that of the family at present on the throne. The landlord is regarded as a natural enemy, holding title to the land by force, and not by right. Under the influence of such prejudice and feelings, a certain unwritten code of laws, or "tenant rights," came into being, by which the tenant claimed to possess his leasehold estate without, under any circumstances, the right of dispossession existing in the landlord. The landlord might be desirous of improving his estate, or rent be largely in arrears; nevertheless, any action on his part in maintenance of his right of property, under the Ribbon code, was to be resisted to the death. But not only upon the landlord did the Ribbonmen exercise their deadly vengeance; other tenants entering upon the possession of the disputed property were equally with the landlords and land-agents the victims of murderous, and generally fatal, attacks. This society sprang into existence in the early part of the present century, maintained its unhallowed existence for many years, and only received permanent check upon the execution of Hodgens and Breen, convicted of conspiracy to murder Patrick McArdle, at Carrickmacross, in 1852.

The principal points of operation of this society were in Tipperary, Kings, Queens, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, and Monaghan Counties. The numerous murders and other outrages which they have committed have done much to

retard the improvement and prosperity of Ireland, to increase the evils arising from "absentee" ownership, and to prevent the growth of those kindly relations and mutual interests which should exist between the owner of the soil and his less fortunate tenant. In a number of instances the land-owners for years virtually yielded their estates to the control of a discontented tenantry. Strange to say, all ordinary rules in the management of property which have proven successful in other countries, in Ireland seemed to excite the most bitter opposition. The landlord anxious to improve his estate and looking to the advancement in prosperity of his tenantry, the philanthropist filled with kindly intentions and anxious to render full justice tempered with charity, were in constant danger and frequently the victims of the assassin; whilst the good-natured, fox-hunting, drunken squire, having no end in view but his own ease and the gratification of his own selfish impulses, yielding to prejudices because too careless and too indolent to run counter to them, was enabled to be guilty of real acts of oppression, and at the same time to live in perfect safety, enjoying a high degree of personal prosperity. A condition of affairs so paradoxical could exist only among a people where the heart rather than the head is the controlling power, whose habits are eminently social, whose prejudices are intense, and with whom good-natured, open-hearted manners are of more avail than lasting benefits conferred with a repellent hand.

That the Irish peasant was himself the victim of many a high-handed act of oppression well-authenticated tales place beyond the possibility of a doubt. It is hard to imagine two classes of men more dissimilar and less likely to coalesce than the English and the Irish. The English, cold, staid, unyielding, and methodical, prejudiced beyond any other people, with analytical power to understand such prejudices and discuss them, with candor and honesty to

acknowledge them, and with a magnificent self-sufficiency to glory in them, regard with sovereign scorn, of which there is no attempt at concealment, the open manner, the informality, the impulsive and careless extravagance of their Irish neighbors. In every prominent characteristic the two nations are at variance, and in their intercourse, political and social, generally meet with the jagged side of each presented. The Englishman in his own way, and in his own fashion, possesses far more real philanthropic feeling than the Irishman; he has an earnest desire to act not only justly, but even kindly, if he only knew how; but the Irish question, an unsolved problem centuries ago, still remains as complex as ever.

That the Ribbonmen as against the English government, and in defiance of Saxon landlords, should not meet determined resistance was not in the nature of things. On some estates landlords endeavored to maintain their legal rights with all the machinery of the law, and "process-servers," "grippers," "keepers," and "drivers" were employed to serve the tenants with legal processes for the collection of rent. The "grippers" had in charge the arresting of all tenants against whom decrees for non-payment of rent had been obtained; the "keepers" were employed to watch the crops, lest they should be carried off in the night; whilst the "drivers" were engaged to drive all the live-stock found upon the premises of the defaulting tenant and lodge them in the pound, from which they were not to be released until the rent was paid. These severe measures, sometimes arbitrary, on the part of the landlord, were met by the most determined resistance on the part of the tenants; and on the barony of Farney, County Monaghan, in the year 1843, the "Molly Maguires" were organized to act as auxiliary to, or in connection with, the Ribbonmen.

There are a number of traditions as to the origin of the

name of "Molly Maguire." One is that the society was formed under the auspices of an old woman of that name, and the first meetings were held at her house. Another account tells of a sort of Amazon of that name who not only planned deviltry, but also was foremost in assisting to execute it. Her followers received the nickname of "Molly Maguires." The best-authenticated explanation of the name, however, is that the members were generally stout, active young men, dressed up in women's clothes, with their faces blackened, or otherwise disguised, with crape or fantastic masks, or with burnt cork about their eyes, mouths, and cheeks.* In this condition they would pounce down upon process-servers, grippers, keepers, and drivers, duck them in bog-holes, beat, and otherwise maltreat them. Under such circumstances the very name of Molly Maguire inspired terror, and to employ officers of the law was not only difficult, but in some instances impossible. It does not appear that the custom of wearing female dresses was observed in all localities in Ireland, nor can any instance now be recalled where the Molly Maguires have ever done so in this country.

As has been before remarked, no connection is known to exist between the "Ribbonmen" and "Molly Maguires" of Ireland and the "Molly Maguires" of the coal region, without—and of that there is no present proof—such connection should be through the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The "Mollies" have often committed outrages here that resemble in the minutest details the crimes of their prototypes across the ocean, and this, too, without one single mitigating circumstance to relieve their horrid enormity. The "Molly Maguire" of the coal region comes into existence without cause, or pretense of a cause, in the past or present history of this country.

* Trench's "Realities of Irish Life."

Standing the equal before the law of any man or set of men in the land, his rights guarded, and even his prejudices respected, he becomes with fiendish malice and in cold blood an incendiary and assassin, a curse to the land that has welcomed him with open arms, and a blot, a stain, and a disgrace upon the character of his countrymen and the name of the land of his nativity.

CHAPTER V.

CARBON AND SCHUYLKILL COUNTIES, 1861 TO 1865.

IMMEDIATELY prior to, and during the first years of, the war, the development of what is known as the middle anthracite coal-field was in its infancy. The construction of the Philadelphia and Sunbury Railroad from Sunbury to Mount Carmel, and the extension of the Mine Hill and Schuylkill Haven Railroad over the Broad Mountain to Ashland, it is true, had opened the western portion of that basin, in the vicinity of Shamokin and Ashland, to enterprise and capital. But in the centre of the basin, where are located the magnificent Girard estate and other valuable mineral lands, and to the eastward, settlements were sparse, with but little improvement. The stimulus to the anthracite coal trade by reason of the demand created by the war, and the consequent building of new railroad outlets to market, have caused this region to spring, as if by magic, into full development, with an immense population; and this fact is necessary to be borne in mind in order that the shifting of the field of operations of the "Molly Maguire," hereafter narrated, may be understood.

At the period to which we refer, however, the great coal

operations were being worked to the west of Pottsville, in Schuylkill County, in the neighborhood of Summit Hill, in Carbon County, and in the great upper coal-field in Luzerne County.

At an early day ill-defined rumors that an order called the "Black Spots" was in existence in the vicinity of Pottsville had been afloat, and several outrages then perpetrated seem to bear the marks of criminal organization. That the order, however, if even in existence, had anything more than a mere local being and short life there is no reason to suppose. But from the beginning of the year 1862, that a powerful society was exercising an unwholesome influence in Cass and adjoining townships in Schuylkill County, was generally believed, and in Carbon and parts of Luzerne County the name of "Buckshot" was becoming a familiar term as applied to the lawless element in the mining population. Demand for labor had suddenly increased at a time when many of the best citizens were absent in the army. Not only were their places to be filled, but a large excess was required. Good and valuable miners and laborers answered the demand, but with them also great numbers of the worst class of a floating population. It is not surprising that to this latter element the notice of an enrollment upon which to form a draft for soldiers would afford an opportunity to strengthen and increase an unlawful combination already existing.

Even to the best-regulated community there is nothing popular or inspiriting in a contemplated draft for soldiers. It is a notice that the answer of the volunteer is not sufficient, and that every man, whatever may be his private obligations, must be prepared to answer to the call of his country. From patriotic motive or necessity a draft will be advocated, approved, and submitted to, on the same principle that a nauseous dose of physic is taken,—present discomfort for future health.

But there are certain persons who, either from thoughtlessness or a natural disposition, regard only the present; and to this class the large lawless element appealed. As a consequence, in Cass and other townships in Schuylkill County, and in parts of Carbon County, active measures to prevent enrollment were adopted. In Schuylkill County careful and judicious treatment prevented an outbreak, and the enrollment was made. In Carbon County, where the "Buckshots" were fully organized, enrollment was also effected, but amid a bitter and violent state of feeling.* The spirit of lawlessness was aroused. It manifested itself not only against the United States government, but against all law, human and divine. The enrollment offered the occasion for an appeal to the passions of men, by which criminal organization was strengthened and increased.

In Carbon County at this time, and during several years, the "Buckshot" was bold, arrogant, and defiant in a career of crime. Fearful assaults, arson, and murder were perpetrated, and remained to a very great degree unpunished. Not only did the civil authorities seem powerless, but the strong arm of the United States government, invoked when possible, seemed to stay only for the moment the spirit of lawlessness. To such an extent did an open riotous feeling manifest itself, that a number of leading coal operators were warned to suspend operations until the unlawful demands of those opposed to the draft were acceded to, and miners and laborers were notified that if they continued at work it would be at the peril of their lives. A large body of rioters armed came to Mauch Chunk, overawed the citizens, forced their way into the jail, and released

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* It is but simple justice to these sections of the coal regions to state that at the breaking out of the war there was an instant response to the call for volunteers, and that during the war the volunteers from these parts were equal to those from any other portion of the community.

a number of the prisoners. This riot occurred in the summer of 1863.*

On the 14th of June, 1862, at a meeting held at Audenried, Carbon County, to make arrangements for a meeting to be held the following Fourth of July, a party of men became infuriated at a man named F. W. S. Langdon, the breaker-boss at one of the neighboring coal-breakers. It appears that one of the party present, whether purposely or by accident is uncertain, spit upon the American flag. In any event, in the then excited condition of the public mind such an act would be an opportunity for angry discussion. Langdon, who was standing on the hotel porch where the meeting was held, denounced in strong terms the person offending. This was the occasion of angry retort and threats. It is supposed that, independent of the offense given by Langdon that day, he had rendered himself obnoxious to some of the workmen in his capacity as boss. The threats used against him, in connection with the angry looks with which he was regarded, caused some of his friends to urge him to remain on the porch and not to mingle with the crowd. Langdon did not himself believe that he was in any danger. He left the meeting, and, the occasion presenting itself, walked some little distance away from the hotel. He was found alone, severely beaten with stones, insensible, and in a dying condition. One mortal blow received seemed to have been given with a hammer. He died in a short time. A mob had evidently followed him. Some persons were suspected of

* Through the kindness of General Charles Albright, a number of papers relating to this period have been placed at the disposal of the writer, among them a list of names of a portion of those connected with this riot. The character of the individuals named is noted in brief. To publish this list can answer no good purpose at this time, but the fact is noted that sixty of the persons named were connected with other outrages,—riots, brutal assaults, fiendish threats, or murder.

having committed the murder, but the requisite evidence to justify their arrest and hold them for trial was not obtained.

The full details of the murder are probably known to many persons; but it is only after the lapse of more than fourteen years, when the terrorism inspired by the "Molly Maguire" is passing away and the organization has received repeated and heavy blows, that there is a prospect of bringing the murderers to justice.

John Kehoe, the County Delegate of Schuylkill County, is charged with the offense; so is Yellow Jack Donahue, so is John Campbell, and so are others. The blow supposed to have been struck with a hammer is said to have been inflicted by Yellow Jack Donahue, with a swingle-tree which he had picked up. It is probable that before many months have passed a number of persons will be tried for the murder.

On the 5th of November, 1863, George K. Smith was murdered in his own house at Audenried, in the presence of his family. Mr. Smith had been a surveyor and mining engineer, and at the time of his death was a coal operator. He was suspected of having given the information by which the United States government officials had been enabled to make the enrollment in his district.

During the afternoon of the 5th of November he had been absent from home, and on his return in the evening complained of not feeling well. He in consequence retired to his room. During the evening a man called at the house, saying that he had a message for Mr. Smith. Mrs. Smith told him her husband was not well, but that she would carry him any message. The man replied, "No; the matter is important, and I must see Mr. Smith himself." In consequence of this urgency Mr. Smith was called, and came partly down-stairs. Whilst he was yet on the stairs, a crowd of about twenty-five men, disguised

with blackened faces, rushed into the house. They commenced shooting at him at once, inflicting wounds which caused almost immediate death.

But the assassins did not themselves escape uninjured. Great confusion prevailed, but determined resistance was offered. George W. Ulrich, then in the employ of Mr. Smith, was present at the time, armed with a revolver, which he shot into the crowd. He wounded one man, named John Donahue,—afterwards killed at Tuscarora, and whose body he there identified,—and, it is supposed, killed another. The marks of blood were found, and a "Molly" funeral followed shortly, but whose it was has not yet been discovered.

No evidence to convict any one of this crime was then to be obtained. As in the case of Langdon, the probabilities are that the offenders, or some of them, will shortly be called upon to answer.

That the lawlessness existing in a portion of Carbon County in the years 1862, 1863, and 1864 was greater than in any portion of Schuylkill or Luzerne County at that period, is possible. The existence of organized crime was more fully recognized. But if in Schuylkill County no such spirit of bold defiance to law was manifested as in the attack upon the Mauch Chunk jail, the frequency of crime, and the spirit of lawlessness prevailing there, were exciting general alarm.*

On the 3d of July, 1862, a man named Thomas Hogan

* The writer has not given in detail the outrages committed in Luzerne County. The character of the "Molly" outrages was the same in all parts of the anthracite coal region. Whilst throughout the whole region the testimony is that the "Molly Maguire" organization is criminal, during the last few years better influences have been at work in Luzerne than in other counties. As in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties the organization has been detected and exposed, the details of crime in those counties have received more special attention. Luzerne County during the past year has afforded hiding-places for Schuylkill and Carbon County criminals.

was killed at the Otto colliery. He was stabbed with a knife by a Daniel Kelly. David Kelly, William Kelly, and Lawrence Flynn are said to have been accessories. That this was a "Molly Maguire" murder is doubtful. It was the first of a long series of murders in Schuylkill County.*

On the 18th of December, 1862, there was an avowed "Molly Maguire" outrage. On that day about two hundred men, armed with guns, pistols, and other weapons, made an attack upon the collieries of William Goyne, near Forestville, Cass Township. They dragged the fire from beneath the boilers, and stopped the engine and pumps.† They beat seriously about fifteen men employed at the mines. A Mr. Hopkins, in the employ of the Mine Hill Railroad Company, was severely injured. They made an attack upon and closed the colliery store. Three shots were fired at the store-keeper, fortunately without hitting him. Two young men, named Edward Harris and Edward Great, were beaten badly. The ruffians remained at the scene of outrage for over two hours. There was no robbery committed. They then left, uttering threats of vengeance against the men should the collieries be started or the stores opened without their permission. It is not known that any of the employees of Mr. Goyne were concerned in the matter, nor does any cause of complaint on their part appear. The rioters during the scene boasted largely of an organization called the "Molly Maguires,"

* See Appendix A,—a list of fifty-five murders in Schuylkill County in a little over three years, beginning in 1863. These were not all "Molly" murders, nor would a conviction of "murder in the first degree" in all cases have been justified. But many of them were brutal, cowardly assassinations, for which there was neither trial nor conviction.

† By the stoppage of pumps mines below water-level soon fill with water. This is looked upon as one of the most serious calamities that can befall a colliery. It occasions loss of time, great expense, and oftentimes irreparable damage.

to which they belonged, and asserted that it was powerful enough to control the whole coal region.

From this time forward acts of violence increased in frequency. It is impossible, nor could it be of interest, to describe every outrage committed. Suffice it to state that it was a period of lawlessness in certain sections of the coal-fields.

On the 11th of January, 1863, about forty men attacked the house of John McDonald, in Cass Township. They broke in the doors and windows of his house, with intention to kill him. He escaped. Mrs. McDonald remained; they used violent language against her, but spared her life.

On the 13th of the same month, and in the same township, two men, named Conners and Curry, were shot during the night on the public road. The whole affair is a mystery.

On the 24th of February, 1863, Mr. Thomas Verner was attacked and knocked down by a crowd of men in Foster Township. For some time after this attack Mr. Verner's life was in constant danger. His sole offense consisted in the purchase of an interest in a colliery from Mr. Borda. The purchase did not meet with universal approval on the part of the men.

On the 2d of January, 1864, James Bergen, of Coal Castle, was shot at by five strangers. He died within two days from the wounds received. The crime was committed in the daytime. The reasons, if any, for this murder are not known. The criminals escaped; no arrests were made.

On the 8th of January, 1864, Mr. Thomas Kear and Mr. Benseman were attacked at Minersville by a crowd armed with billies. There had been no provocation given. Mr. Kear had a pistol, and attempted to shoot. The pistol, however, missed fire.

On the 11th of September, 1864, at Lorberry, Robert Gardner was killed in his own house by Dennis Aiken,

assisted by two other men. The weapon used was an axe, with which the head and body of Gardner were completely hacked. Aiken escaped, but was subsequently arrested, tried, convicted of murder in the second degree, and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. This is not generally believed to have been a "Molly" murder.

On the 10th of August, 1865, Mr. William Pollock, the then superintendent of the Peach Mountain Coal Company, was riding with his son James, a lad about the age of fourteen years, from his residence in Pottsville to the mines of the company, some miles to the east of that place, in the direction of Tuscarora. It was in broad daylight, in a thickly-settled country, and no suspicion of danger existed. Suddenly the report of a pistol was heard, and Mr. Pollock discovered that he was wounded, a pistol-ball having passed through the curtains of his carriage and lodged in his back.

In the flurry and excitement the horse was stopped, and a man appeared in front of the carriage, with a pistol, and told them to deliver. He again fired, but this time missed. The pistol contained but two balls, both of which had now been fired. Mr. Pollock sprang from the carriage and grappled with the ruffian. Weakened though he was with loss of blood and the pain arising from his wound, his feelings were so thoroughly aroused that he fully occupied the attention of his antagonist, who was a strong, powerful man. He would probably, however, have been conquered had it not been for the presence of mind and bravery displayed by his young son. James comprehended the situation, quickly placed himself in position, and inflicted a rapid succession of well-directed blows on the head of the robber with the butt end of his whip. He doubtless saved his father's life. The man could neither bear nor prevent the punishment the boy was inflicting upon him, since Mr. Pollock himself engaged his

utmost attention; he tore himself loose, ran for the woods, and escaped.

Had he been successful he would have gained rich booty. Mr. Pollock had on his person over eight thousand dollars, which he was taking to the colliery to pay the men. Notwithstanding the wound received, the two accomplished the purpose with which they had started from home. They proceeded to the mines, handed the money over to the book-keeper, and then returned to Pottsville, where Mr. Pollock had the ball extracted before meeting his family. He was confined to the house for more than two weeks.

The robber had escaped, and has never since been arrested. This attempted robbery was probably an individual enterprise, but there is little doubt that the perpetrator was a "Molly Maguire," and had he been arrested would have been protected by all the power and influence of the order. It is not absolutely certain, but he is supposed to have been killed at a tavern in the Mahanoy region called "The Flour-Barrel." Mr. Pollock is an old resident of Pottsville, a gentleman of social position, and highly respected. The matter excited considerable attention at the time.

On the 25th of August, 1865, Mr. David Muir, superintendent of what are known as "New Mines," in Foster Township, then belonging to the Forest Improvement Company, immediately after taking his breakfast walked down the road towards his colliery. When about fifty yards from his house he was attacked by two or three men. It is supposed that the party came up behind him and struck him down with a blow on the back of his head. He was then shot, the ball passing through his heart and right lung. He received three severe wounds in the body with a dirk. His death was almost instantaneous.

The murderers after committing the crime were seen to walk down the railroad-track about one hundred yards.

They then passed into the woods and escaped. Signals were given them from the neighboring hills immediately after the occurrence. This murder was committed in broad daylight, on the highway, within a short distance of the colliery, where a large number of men were congregated, all of whom must have heard the report of the fire-arms, and some of whom were probably witnesses of the act itself. But no testimony has been elicited, up to this time, by which the perpetrators of the crime could be brought to justice.

Eleven years have gone since David Muir passed into eternity. No one as yet has been called to answer at the bar of justice for the fiendish act of that day, but his murderers, if now on the face of the earth, after long years of unbroken security, have uneasy slumbers and live in continual fear of the wrath to come. Mr. Muir was a Scotchman by birth, but was for many years a resident of Schuylkill County and in the employ of the Forest Improvement Company. He was strictly honorable in his dealings, of high character, widely known throughout the country, generally popular, and possessed a large circle of friends.*

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* The persons murdered are generally spoken of in high terms. This is not done in the spirit of honoring the dead. They were picked men, many of them occupying positions of trust and responsibility.

CHAPTER VI.

SCHUYLKILL, COLUMBIA, AND CARBON COUNTIES, 1866 TO 1871.

About seven o'clock in the evening of the 10th of January, 1866, Henry Hawthorne Dunne was waylaid and murdered about two miles outside of Pottsville, on a much-traveled road leading to Minersville.

There were a number of circumstances connected with this murder which tended to excite public attention to an unusual degree: the character of the man; the position he occupied; the locality in which the deed was committed.

Dunne was an Irish gentleman, a native of Waterford, well educated, and possessing rare social, moral, and physical gifts. With strong common sense and natural ability, he at the same time sparkled with wit and humor; earnest and strict in the performance of his duties, which were oftentimes unpleasant, he was possessed of a charity and warmth of heart which formed a part of his every-day life, unobtrusive, yet pervading his whole being;* magnificently developed physically, of great strength and undaunted courage, the despotic or tyrannical element formed no part of his character. He had been for a number of years in the business of mining coal on his own account, but at the time of his death he held the position of superintendent of the New York and Schuylkill Coal Company, at that time the largest coal-mining company in the county. Both by reason of his social gifts and his business connections he was widely known and had great influence.

* The writer can bear personal testimony to many an act of unsuspected charity on the part of Mr. Dunne, of which he in his professional capacity became cognizant.

But beyond all these considerations, there existed the fact that the murder, bold and defiant as it was, had been perpetrated but a short distance outside of the borough limits of Pottsville, where, notwithstanding the continued and numberless outrages committed in other places, it had not been supposed that the "Molly Maguire" dared venture.

The collieries of the company of which Mr. Dunne was the superintendent were located about ten miles west of Pottsville. He had that day been detained a little later than usual, and as a consequence had driven fast in order to get home as soon as possible. Upon the rise of a hill near what is known as the York farm he somewhat slackened the pace at which he had been driving. At this moment the attacking party, numbering, it is supposed, five men, stopped the horse and fired at their victim, who, being encumbered by large gloves and carriage-robes, was prevented from drawing his pistol.

At this time a Mr. Jones, of Minersville, accompanied by a lady, on their way to the skating-park at Pottsville, came driving by. They heard shots, and also heard Mr. Dunne exclaim, "I am murdered!" One of the assassins stepped up to Jones's carriage and threatened to blow his brains out if he did not proceed on his way, and he, being unarmed, could do nothing but comply. Being unable to rescue Mr. Dunne or arrest the murderers, he did the next best thing, which was to drive into Pottsville as fast as possible and give notice of the murder.

When Dunne had been shot four times, twice in his right arm and twice in his neck, he was dragged from his carriage and again shot through the cheek, the ball coming out through his neck. He was then left lying in his blood on the public highway. The party, with a shout of exultant laughter, which was heard some distance off, walked towards Minersville, keeping on the main road.

J. Claude White, also a colliery superintendent, on his

way to Pottsville, met the men a quarter of a mile from the scene of the murder. He was driving fast, and paid no special attention to them. As he approached the body of the murdered man, his horse became frightened. He made every effort to get close to it, but, finding that impossible, hurried on to give notice of the body lying out in the cold winter night, little thinking that he was leaving behind him the ghastly and bloody corpse of one of his warmest and most intimate friends, who he supposed was living and in the possession of superabundant strength.*

The murder was not committed for any purpose of robbery. Neither watch, pocket-book, nor other valuable was touched. It is supposed that the motive for the deed was revenge for some acts done in the line of his duty as superintendent.

Large rewards for the detection and conviction of the murderers were offered by the county and the company by which he was employed. An intense feeling of indignation prevailed throughout the community. Public meetings assembled to consider the situation of affairs, and, if possible, devise means of safety. The New York and Schuylkill Coal Company set detectives at work, but evi-

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* The night before Mr. Dunne was murdered I passed an hour or two with him in the drug-store of Mr. J. C. Hughes, in Pottsville. During the course of conversation, as he was relating some matter which interested me very much, in an animated way he drew himself up to his full height and threw back his shoulders. I was so struck by his magnificent physique that I remarked, "Harry, you look as if you might live to be a hundred."

"Upon my soul, I have no idea of dying at present," he replied, with a laugh.

"Well, then," said Mr. Hughes, "you should be more careful about driving out at night."

"Why, no one would hurt *me*," was the reply.

We felt the justice of the remark, and thought that if the social attributes of any man would render him safe, that man was Harry Dunne; and yet within twenty-four hours he was a "Molly" victim.—F. P. D.

dence to convict the murderers could not be obtained. The magnitude of the evil was, however, more fully appreciated, and some idea of the extent of the organization, and the names of many of the members, who supposed their crimes hidden, were obtained.

The names of the murderers of Henry H. Dunne are known to some few persons outside of the "Molly" organization. One by one they have gone to their last account, except two wretches, who may yet be called upon to answer for some of their many crimes. Of those dead, not one has died a natural death: in fierce brawl or by accidents in the mines they have closed their earthly careers.

On the 4th of July, 1866, a dispute arose between an Irishman and a Welshman, an old man, in Bettinger's tavern, in Newtown, Reilly Township, Schuylkill County. The Irishman, becoming very angry, threatened to beat the old man, and was only prevented from doing so by the landlord and two young men, named Joseph Berry and George A. Fisher, who had just stopped there for the purpose of hiring a horse to take them to Llewellyn. The Irishman, enraged at the interference, went out of the house, and soon returned with about twenty-five men, who surrounded the house, the doors of which in the mean time had been locked. The crowd commenced stoning the house. They soon broke in the doors and windows. Berry and Fisher were both armed, but retreated to the second story, where they were followed. They fired upon their pursuers, who fled. Of the attacking party, a man named Patrick Meehan was killed and James Welsh wounded. As to who killed Meehan and wounded Welsh is a subject of dispute. It is asserted that they were shot accidentally by their own friends. Berry and Fisher then came down-stairs, and attempted to rush through the crowd and thus escape from the house, but they were again driven back to the second story. Their situation was now

becoming desperate. The crowd below was every minute growing more excited. The only chance of escape seemed to be in leaping from the second-story window, which they, fortunately, were enabled to do without injury and without being seen. They managed to get into the woods, and made their way over rocks and through bushes to Llewellyn, where, in a state of almost utter exhaustion, they went to Coleman's tavern.

In the mean time their escape had been discovered. It was supposed that they had gone to Llewellyn, and about ten of the party followed them up, and, going directly to Coleman's tavern, found them. One of the party, named Patrick Conners, had a revolver in his hand, which he leveled at Berry, when a man named Lewis Williams, a member of a well-known family long resident in the coal regions, interfered. Conners, enraged, immediately turned upon Williams, and shot at him; the ball entered the right nostril and lodged in the head, inflicting a wound from which he shortly afterwards died. Conners was arrested, but committed suicide in jail before trial.

About midnight of the 11th of February, 1867, the house of Mr. John C. Northall, a coal operator residing at Tuscarora, Schuylkill County, was attacked by a body of about twenty-five men. The assailants mostly carried fire-arms: one of them had a sword. They commenced firing into the window of the bedroom where they supposed him to be; but Mr. Northall was away from home. The family were much alarmed. A Mr. Cole, who lived with Mr. Northall, managed to arouse the neighbors. A servant-girl on attempting to hoist one of the windows was fired at, the ball passing through her clothing. The neighbors quickly assembled in force, when all of the ruffians left except one, named John Donahue, who was armed with a sword, and still persisted in the attack. In the mêlée he was shot and killed.

George W. Ulrich, who had been present at the time George K. Smith was murdered, and had himself shot two of the assailants upon that occasion, recognized in the dead man one of the persons he had then shot. Upon examining the body the mark of the wound inflicted by him was found. Another of the murderers of George K. Smith had met a violent death. For the killing of John Donahue a man named Thomas Border was tried, but under the testimony produced was acquitted.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th of March, 1867, William H. Littlehales was murdered on the public road near Glen Carbon, Foster Township, Schuylkill County. He was shot through the body with a rifle- or large pistol-ball. His death must have been almost instantaneous. He was found by Dr. McWilliams, who had been just paying a professional visit at his house, lying entirely lifeless on the side of the road. The object of the murder was robbery. Mr. Littlehales was superintendent of the Glen Carbon colliery, owned by Patterson & Co., and was also interested in the colliery store, run in connection with the mines. It was supposed that he had with him the money to pay off the workmen at the mines. The robbers were, however, mistaken ; all that they gained by the murder was the little pocket-money he had about him, a silver watch, and his revolver, which he had had no opportunity of using.

Mr. Littlehales was, at the time of his death, in the thirty-second year of his age. He left a widow and three children, one of whom, a bright boy, had just had his leg amputated by reason of an injury received on the railroad. He was born in Schuylkill County, and was familiar with coal-mining operations. His father, an Englishman, came to the coal regions at an early day, and had been, prior to that time, a coal operator for many years.

Mr. Littlehales was of unexceptionable character, and

regarded in the community as a rising man. The story of the dead father lying on one bed, the maimed boy on another, and the almost distracted wife and mother between them, excited universal sympathy. The surroundings of the case were sad. But a little time before, this wife had lived in the happy present with bright and well-founded hopes for the future, and now, without warning, the "Molly" bullet had stricken down the lover of her youth, her husband, her companion, the father of her children, and had left her almost alone to struggle with the world. She had been stricken, and was without any redress whatever. The murderers were at large, safe, exultant, unknown.

But the fact that aroused the public generally, independent of the sympathy excited, was that this was another murder committed in the broad light of day, on a public road in a populous neighborhood, within but two hundred yards of a large number of people who must have had some knowledge of the transaction, and yet no one seemed to know anything about it. It appeared as if the murderers were as safe as if the foul deed had been done at midnight and far from the habitations of man.

Public meetings were held, large rewards were offered, various schemes were proposed and discussed, but the "Molly" was triumphant: the murderers were at large. No arrests were made. It is only now that the hope is beginning to be felt that, as the secrets of the past are coming to the light of day, the murderers of William H. Littlehales will have to answer for their crime. And there is some foundation for this hope. Although the "Molly Maguire" will indorse any crime, murder for the purpose of robbery was unusual. But a series of murders for the purpose of robbery were being committed by "Mollies" at this time. It is believed that they were all perpetrated by the same party. Men are now arrested for robbery and

murder, against whom the proof is overwhelming; and the whole story will probably come to light.

On the night of Friday, the 22d of March, 1867, a party of five men made an attack upon a tavern kept by James Gallagher, in Mahanoy Township, Schuylkill County, known as "The Flour-Barrel." The purpose was robbery. Gallagher had in his possession several thousand dollars, and the fact was suspected. The robbers demanded admission, but were refused. They then took a large stone and broke in the front door, and immediately commenced shooting into the house. Gallagher seized a gun, which was loaded with No. 5 shot, and fired at his assailants. The entire load entered the abdomen of one of the men, killing him instantly. This had the effect of scattering the assailants, but they continued firing from different points. Gallagher seized a pistol, with which he continued to defend himself. Another of the attacking party was wounded, two balls hitting him, one in the shoulder and one in the leg. Whether he was hit by Gallagher or accidentally by one of his friends is not known. The party then retreated. The dead man was carried away, but the wounded man was captured and committed to prison. He gave the name of Owen McClosky. The party was traced the next morning by the blood on the snow. The dead body had been left about half a mile from Gilberton. It was brought to Pottsville, and identified as that of Patrick Stinson, of Glen Carbon, a young man about twenty years of age.

The evening following the attack on "The Flour-Barrel," the house of Mr. Henry Repp, a farmer of Union Township, Schuylkill County, was broken into by four Irishmen, one other being left outside to stand guard. They asserted that they were in search of two men who had committed a murder in Danville. Mr. Repp took a candle and went with one of them through the house. Mrs. Repp, becom-

ing alarmed, ran over to a tenement-house occupied by Jacob Johnson, and asked him to come to their assistance. Johnson came back with her, bringing two revolvers with him. At the moment Johnson came in, Mr. Repp had returned to the room. One of the party then exclaimed, "It is not murderers we are after: we want your money." A struggle at once began, the gang firing at the family. Mr. Johnson fired three shots, none of which took effect. He was then struck by a shot, fired at him by one of the robbers, causing his instant death.

When Mr. Johnson fell, Mr. Repp sprang at one of the assailants and stabbed him with a knife, how severely is not known, as he was carried away by his comrades. The party went off without effecting their object, but while retreating continued to fire. A shot struck Mr. Repp on the forehead, but, glancing off, fortunately inflicted nothing more than a flesh-wound. He was knocked senseless, but did not receive permanent injury.

Within a period of eight days there had been three attempts at robbery, probably by the same party, and in no instance had they met with success. Two men had been murdered and one wounded by them. On their part, one man had been killed, at least two severely wounded, and one was imprisoned. Their efforts at robbery were evidently unsatisfactory, for no further attempts in that direction were made for several months. Lawlessness prevailed in certain parts of the coal region, but open robbery was for the time abandoned.

During the year 1868 the idea of robbery was again started among the "Molly Maguires." It is supposed that in this matter Patrick Hester, a body-master in Northumberland County, and a notorious "Molly," was the leading spirit.

Major J. Claude White, superintendent of the Swatara Mines in Schuylkill County, and Alexander Rae, superin-

tendent of the Locust Mountain Coal and Iron Company, whose mines and property were situated in Northumberland, Schuylkill, and Columbia Counties, at the point where they all join, were selected as desirable parties upon whom to operate. The execution of these two robberies was fixed at about the same time. This was in the month of October, 1868. Major White, by reason of some circumstances which came to his knowledge, had his suspicions aroused. He knew the character of the lawless element, and a long residence among them had caused him to be ever watchful and on his guard. The "pay," as it is usually called,—that is, the money to be used in paying the wages of the employees at the mines,—was to be taken to the colliery on the 17th of October. When he went to Pottsville that day, the object of his trip was understood. On his return, James Shoemaker, Esq., also connected with the mines of which Major White was superintendent, was in the carriage with him. On the road between Llewellyn and Swatara, on the top of a hill, is situated a church, which, like many country churches on the roadside, has a large yard between it and the road. When White and Shoemaker arrived at the foot of the hill upon which the church is located, they observed a crowd of men standing at the church-door, but this at the time did not attract their special attention. Happening, however, to look through the glass in the back curtain of the carriage, they observed a man making signals to the crowd at the church. In an instant they both saw the plan,—they were to be intercepted and robbed on the top of the hill. Quickly arranging their fire-arms, the horse, a free-goer, was started up the hill at full speed, and the dangerous point was passed before the party on the hill could reach the road. The major recognized several of the party, and afterwards learned the details of the plot.

On the same day an attempt was made to rob Alexander

Rae, Esq. In this there was only partial success. Mr. Rae had about sixty dollars in his pocket, as well as a valuable watch, but the large amount of money intended for paying the wages of the men at the mines had been carried forward the preceding day. He was waylaid between Ashland and Centralia, within the boundaries of Columbia County. He delivered his money and his watch to the robbers, but they determined upon his death. He fled to the woods, and the party followed him. He was caught, and a pistol was placed to his head and fired, killing him instantly. His body was not discovered until the next morning.

This murder occasioned excitement among all classes of the community, and wide-spread and heartfelt mourning among the miners and laborers. Mr. Rae was universally beloved. He filled a position which enabled him to do many kind and charitable acts, and he availed himself of his opportunities. He was a resident of Mount Carmel,—a small town near the mines which were under his control. He lived near his workmen, took an active interest in their well-being, was sought for as a counselor, and regarded as a friend. The "Molly" bullet has hurried into eternity many good men, but no shot was more cruel than that which struck down Alexander Rae in the hour of his usefulness and the prime of his manhood.

Patrick Hester, Thomas Donahue, and Patrick Duffy were arrested. Donahue and Duffy were tried for the murder in Columbia County, and acquitted. The "alibi" had been gotten up with great skill. It seemed to exonerate Pat Hester completely. Upon the acquittal of Donahue and Duffy, a *nol. pros.* was entered by the court as to Hester.*

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* On the 8th of November, 1876, Pat Hester, Alexander Graham, and Patrick McHugh were arrested for having been engaged in this murder.

It is said that Samuel Johns, Esq., a coal operator in the Shamokin region, made a narrow escape. He was expected at his mines with the pay, and the robbers were in waiting. Fortunately for Mr. Johns, the engine upon which he had come to the colliery did not stop at the usual place. To that accident he owed his safety.

The robbery of Major White was delayed, not abandoned. At the time of the pay on the following month, on their way from Pottsville, Messrs. White and Shoemaker were accompanied by a Mr. Smith and a policeman by the name of Clauser. The robbers were in waiting, not at the church, but some distance beyond. They were dressed as greenhorns.* Both parties were well armed. In the wagon occupied by Major White the pistols were lying upon one of the seats. As soon as the parties came in sight the firing commenced, and the affair was over in a few seconds. None of the parties attacked were injured. Of the assailants, a man named Finney was captured, having been wounded in the shoulder by a shot from Clauser. The robbers ran away. According to the statement of the major, Pat Hester was among them and received a flesh wound. A number of the party were recognized at the time.

The parties tried in Columbia County for the murder of Rae had been acquitted, but their escape had been a narrow one. It was felt that there might be a possibility of danger. High crime was for a short time checked.

Three years elapsed, during which time no murder occurred which excited public attention as distinctively a "Molly Maguire" murder. But the memory of past danger grew dim, and a new era of crime, with the organiza-

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Since then a man named Tully, or Tully Brown, an accomplice, has also been arrested. Tully is supposed to have been the man who fired the fatal shot.

* Newly-arrived emigrants.

tion more extended and more powerful, was to be entered upon.

During the evening of the 2d of December, 1871, Morgan Powell, a boss of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, was murdered at Summit Hill, Carbon County. He had just come out of a store, and was on the way to the office of the company. He passed a crowd of men, one of whom stepped forward and shot him, inflicting a wound from which he died. The murderer and his confederates ran to the woods. The perpetrators of this murder were known to a large number of persons. It occurred early in the evening, on the main street of the town. The murderers escaped.*

Notwithstanding the numerous murders committed prior to the time of the assassination of Morgan Powell, up to that time there had never been a conviction of a "Molly Maguire" for murder in the first degree. Large rewards had been offered and a large amount of money had been expended, but the efforts made were spasmodic; crime was on the increase, and the "Molly" apparently secure. Nevertheless a power was developing whose influence was felt and feared, but whose policy relative to the "Molly" organization was not suspected.

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* "Yellow Jack" Donahue has been convicted of this murder; and Thomas P. Fisher, Alec Campbell, and others are awaiting trial.

CHAPTER VII.

COAL-MINING COMPANIES—THE PINKERTON AGENCY.

THE rivalry existing between the great transporting companies, competing for coal freights, was undoubtedly the inducing cause for the formation in some cases, and the development on an extended scale in others, of mammoth land and mining companies, directly or indirectly under railroad control and management. The most extensive and thorough organization of this kind, the Philadelphia Coal and Iron Company, was conceived and established by Franklin B. Gowen, Esq., President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. The coal produced from the great body of the lands in Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties was claimed as the legitimate freight of that company, and the control of that freight was being jeopardized by the extensions of the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad, from the east, and the Northern Central Railroad, in the Shamokin and Lykens Valley regions, in the west. Independently of the action of railroad companies already established, there existed the danger of the building of new outlets to market and the further subdivision of the trade.

Mr. Gowen, from his stand-point as president of the railroad company, saw the absolute necessity of maintaining the supremacy of his road by and through the control and ownership of coal lands. He succeeded in impressing his views in a substantial way upon capitalists, and as a result established a company with extended powers under its charter, now in the ownership and possession of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand acres of mineral

land, in many miles of which is embraced the largest body of anthracite coal in the world.

The policy pursued on the part of the Reading Company in the purchase of lands, as well as the influence of like causes, naturally induced similar action on the part of the other great companies, until at this time the largest and most valuable portion of the entire coal area is owned absolutely by, or under the control of, great corporations.

Not only in the causes stated but in some others there existed an inducement for the purchase of lands and the formation of large mining companies. Whilst the area of anthracite coal lands is in a degree limited, the facilities for production under the stimulus offered by increased consumption during and subsequent to the war had created a supply of coal largely in excess of the demand. A large number of individual coal operators with conflicting views and interests, acting independently or in rivalry, each seeking to make large shipments, rendered the trade precarious and in constant danger of breaking down by reason of an overstocked market. It is true that organization was attempted, but it can hardly be said that it worked successfully; individual and selfish interests and necessities in most instances defeated the best-devised and most solemnly adopted measures and compacts in the general interests of the trade. The same diversity of views and interests which defeated the maintenance of rules adopted for the governance of the trade also prevented judicious and combined opposition to the encroachments made upon the rights of property by the "Labor Union," influenced and controlled by the "Molly Maguire." In the case of murder or other outrage committed at any colliery, energetic but spasmodic efforts would be made to detect the offenders. But in the effort both to maintain the rights of property and to protect person and life it was individual effort against organized force. The "Labor Union," under

the influence of high wages and prosperous times, had grown rich and powerful, thoroughly and extensively organized, whilst the "Mollies," confident, from a long series of unpunished crimes, of continued immunity, were boastfully and openly defiant.

It was for the purpose, therefore, not only of insuring future freights to the several railroad companies that the large purchases of land were made, but also in that way to so concentrate the business of mining coal as better to regulate and control the trade and maintain and protect the rights of persons and of property.

In the accomplishment of these purposes no company has been more active than the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and no one more efficient than its president, Franklin B. Gowen, Esq. By reason of previous business association and residence, combined with courage, honesty of purpose, comprehensive knowledge of the situation, and wonderful energy and executive ability, Mr. Gowen, perhaps beyond any other living man, was adapted to carry out the ends in view,—to wit, the maintenance and increase of the power of his company; the regulation of trade; the establishment of law and order; and the protection of the rights of person and property throughout the coal regions.

In the year 1858 or 1859, shortly after coming of age, Mr. Gowen embarked in the coal business as a member of the firm of Turner & Gowen, at Mount Laffee, a small mining village a short distance outside of the borough of Pottsville. Owing to the depressed state of trade, and the mishaps to which the coal business is at times subject, the result of the enterprise was unfortunate. He therefore took up the study of the law, and in the year 1860 he was admitted to practice as an attorney of the Schuylkill County bar. Great natural ability, in connection with influential friends, established him very shortly in a large

and lucrative practice. He became at once the attorney for several large land-owners; was in the fall of 1862 elected to the office of District Attorney; acted as solicitor for the Girard coal estate; and early in his career received the appointment of attorney for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, in which last position he won the entire confidence of the management of the road, and became its president in the year 1869.

The early connection of Mr. Gowen with the coal business as an "operator," and his intimate social relation with the people of the coal region, together with valuable knowledge gained as an attorney having in charge coal lands and as the official prosecutor in the criminal courts, rendered his election as president of the railroad company of immense importance. That the overshadowing power of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, attained under his management, might in unscrupulous hands be fraught with danger to the public is not improbable. Sanguine, earnest, and enthusiastic, Mr. Gowen has exercised that power with entire honesty of purpose, and, as he believes, in the true interests of the community at large. He sincerely intends to act justly, but he may be unduly impressed with the rights and interests of his company as against all the world besides; an error perhaps inseparable from his official position, combined with a disposition naturally combative. Before and after his election as president of the company, the absolute necessity of the acquisition of coal lands to insure the permanent prosperity of the company was thoroughly appreciated. His energies were therefore directed to the purchase of such lands, in which object he was materially assisted by the difficulties presented by the labor question, and the constant danger of outrages to which the coal regions were subject.

Understanding fully the condition of the coal operator, he has, wherever it was consistent with his own views of

official duty, rendered the changed aspect of affairs as advantageous to the latter as possible. His position upon the labor question is open to controversy: he has engaged in a bitter contest, and the immense power of the coal combination in connection with the depressed condition of business has given him the victory. He has taken full advantage of his position as victor in waging war, not upon the laboring man, but upon the "Labor Union." Whether justifiable or not in his course relative to the labor organization, he has some excuse in the fact that in the days of its power, under the influence of the "Molly" element, its encroachments upon the rights of property were frequent and unwarranted. As a coal operator, an attorney, a prosecuting officer, and a citizen of Schuylkill County, he had a full knowledge of the reign of terror under which the coal regions were held. He was impressed with the belief that to render his general policy a success and to maintain the value of his purchases, organized crime must be rooted out, and in 1873, the Coal and Iron Company being then fully established, he initiated measures to that end. He fully appreciated the difficulties of the position; he had fresh in his memory the murder of Harry Dunne and the intense excitement prevailing at that time, the large rewards offered, and the earnest but fruitless efforts to detect the murderers. He remembered George K. Smith, Littlehales, Muir, and Rea, shot down in populous neighborhoods, without any one being found to bring the murderers to justice. He knew of brutal outrages without number committed upon unoffending men, without any attempt made to arrest or convict the guilty. Possessing this knowledge, he felt that the ordinary machinery of the law was of no avail, and that extraordinary means would have to be used.

He told the story to Benjamin Franklin, of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, and was informed that to effect his

end both time and money would be required. This was at once agreed to, and a machinery set in motion which was slowly but surely to undermine an organized band of criminals in the days of their greatest power and most unbounded confidence for evil. The Pinkerton Agency undertook the task of discovering the perpetrators of crime with the view of prevention when possible, or, where prevention was impossible, to furnish evidence to convict the criminals. Among the means used to this end was the sending of a young Irishman named James McParlan to the coal region, with instructions to join the "Molly Maguires" and to communicate to the Agency all the facts relating to the organization.

This detective bureau differs in some respects from the usual system in force in Europe and in this country. It was founded a number of years ago, and has since been successfully conducted, by Allan Pinkerton, who, with headquarters at Chicago, exercises a supervisory direction over the whole. There are branch offices in New York and Philadelphia, the latter under the control and direction of Benjamin Franklin.

It has heretofore been considered an axiom that "it takes a thief to catch a thief." This is denied in toto by Allan Pinkerton, and holds no place in his system. The force of moral power is believed in and relied upon. According to his theory, honesty is the normal condition of the mind, dishonesty the abnormal; just as perfect health is the natural condition of the body, disease the result of extraneous causes. Crime and immorality weaken the mind, as a disorganized physical system weakens the body. The man morally and physically strong holds the man morally and physically weak at an advantage. Crime wears upon the mind as disease wears upon the body, and seeks relief in sympathy. The detective, therefore, according to Mr. Pinkerton, should possess not only ability of a high

order, but also moral and physical force. He must not only possess versatility of character and power of adaptation to circumstances, but must also have strength of mind, force of will, and physical endurance. Of two men of equal ability and knowledge, the one morally strong has the advantage and can exercise the power. To attain success the detective must adapt his life and conversation to the level of those with whom he associates, in order to obtain confidence and to bring upon the criminal the full force of his superior intellect and moral power. According to the theory advanced, the model detective is one possessing purity and honesty of the highest order, a person intellectually and morally strong, who can yet be all things to all men, can appreciate virtue, but at the same time understand the workings of the mind of the criminal and the motives by which he is influenced and controlled. He must touch pitch and not be defiled; handle fire and not be scorched; bathe in filth and yet remain clean. The model detective may be as impossible as any other high ideal of perfection, and yet, acting on this theory, the Pinkerton Agency has not only in the present instance, but in very many others, had wonderful success. Ability, knowledge, power of adaptation, and tact are certainly the prerequisites of a good detective. The only advantage the criminal has over others in detecting crime exists in the fact of his knowledge. His testimony, however, must always, by reason of his previous character, be regarded as questionable. But the honest detective, possessing the necessary prerequisites, certainly has the advantage: he suffers no temptation, is bound by no friendships, is shackled by no prejudices, and acts directly in the line of his duty.

A dishonest detective would never have exposed the "Molly Maguires." The organization had gained wonderful power and influence, and the patience and ability

exercised by James McParlan in his investigations had given him position in the order offering more inducements to uphold it than to expose.

The question as to the strict morality of the detective system is an open one. The Jesuit doctrine, "the end justifies the means," is held to be false by Christian philosophers. Entire honesty of word and deed, at all times and places and under all circumstances, is claimed to be essential to an observance of the strict rule of morality. Nevertheless, the rule has always been "more honored in the breach than in the observance." The detective system has been adopted at all periods of the world's history and by all nations. The general who wrests victory out of defeat by reason of deception practiced upon his enemy is not only not regarded as acting in bad faith, but is looked upon as worthy of the laurel crown and the plaudits of a grateful country. The "secret service fund" is deemed an essential to successful government. The purity of all governmental departments is upheld and maintained through the detective system. The Old Testament tells tne story of the spy and informer, and St. Paul, speaking under the new dispensation, approves of his acts.

Are we bound to keep faith with the criminal in the prosecution of his criminal acts? Are we placed outside of the pale of morality if either by implied or express deceit the murderer and incendiary is detected in his course of crime and life and property are preserved thereby? The criminal certainly has no reason to complain if his own rule of conduct in the pursuit of evil is applied to him in the maintenance of right. If no wrong is committed, then no cause of complaint exists; and no man can justly complain of being wronged who is detected in the commission of offenses or punished for their perpetration. If no injustice is done the criminal, if his mouth is closed, then the rest of the world will readily pardon the breach of

morality, if such it be, involved in the deceit practiced by the detective in the pursuit of his profession.

In the use of such means as those offered by the detective agency seemed to lie the only hope of relief from the fearful rule of a gang of desperadoes and ruffians who sported with human life, destroyed property, and set at defiance all the laws both of God and of man. By the use of those means, an era of security such as never before existed in the coal regions is confidently hoped for.

In this matter Mr. Gowen has not only the approval of his own conscience, but also the general indorsement of the public; and, in view of the result attained, those least inclined to favor the principles upon which the detective system is founded invoke, as to him, the precedent established in the oft-cited case of Uncle Toby (*Sterne*, book vii., chap. viii.), where "the accusing spirit, flying up to Heaven's chancery with the deed, blushed as he gave it in, and the recording angel, as he wrote it down, dropped a tear upon the page and blotted it out forever."

CHAPTER VIII.

McPARLAN THE DETECTIVE.

THE Pinkerton Agency showed great discrimination in the selection of James McParlan as the operative to be intrusted with the difficult and dangerous work determined upon in the anthracite coal region. It has resulted, it is believed, in giving to life and property there the same security that they enjoy in other civilized communities. Through his instrumentality an era of crime extending over long years is drawing to a close, and a people almost

despairing of relief are seeing light spring out of darkness. Communities long spell-bound with fear of the torch of the incendiary and the bullet of the assassin now breathe more freely, and the law again extends its strong arm in the maintenance of the rights of person and of property.

It required a detective of the first grade in his profession to accomplish successfully the result desired. Ordinary rules governing and controlling intercourse with thieves, ruffians, burglars, and murderers in the large cities, are in the coal region of no avail. Criminals usually find sufficient motive in an unhallowed desire for gain; but to a Molly Maguire gain is only one, and that by no means the most prominent, incentive to cruel and bloody deeds. Mistaken ideas of honor, of friendship, and of patriotism mingle with prejudices the most unfounded, with demands the most unreasonable, with a spirit of revenge utterly unaccountable. Combined with these feelings are motives as debased as any which actuate the petty thief, and a disregard for human life which one would hardly look for even in the professional murderer who slays for gain.

Peculiar requisites are essential for the detective successfully operating among this class. With all their open-hearted enthusiasm and recklessness, the Irish peasantry possess a low cunning that is proverbial, and a suspiciousness readily excited by a word spoken at random or a careless act meaning nothing. To counteract this a full appreciation and understanding of their contrarieties of character, their prejudices, their modes of thought, expression, and manner of life, only to be attained by an Irishman and Catholic, are absolutely necessary. That such Irishman and Catholic should, in addition to good character and honesty of purpose, be imbued to some degree with the peculiarities and even the prejudices of his race, is desirable. But, while he must be able to adapt himself at will to their peculiarities of character and modes of life, it is

absolutely essential that he be cool, wary, cautious, and methodical. To find a person who can pass days and weeks among men who force conclusions from illogical arguments based on false premises, and yet who is possessed not only of great analytical power but also of delicate discretion in separating the true from the false, matters important from things immaterial, is, however difficult, necessary. To find a person of so varied and peculiar character was not easy, even among Irishmen: nevertheless the man possessing all these traits, with others equally valuable, was selected for and intrusted with this business by the Pinkerton Agency.

James McParlan was born in County Armagh, Province of Ulster, Ireland, in the year 1844, and is hence at this time (1876) about thirty-two years of age. He is a man about five feet eight or nine inches in height, rather slightly built, but muscular; is of fair complexion, with dark chestnut hair, regular features, a broad, full forehead, and gray eyes. His general dress is a plain black suit; he wears glasses, and presents a gentlemanly appearance. He is social in his disposition, has a keen sense of humor, and is cordial in his manner. He is an Irishman in feeling and sympathy as well as in race, and resents quickly any unjust attack upon his countrymen, his religion, or his native land.

Upon the witness-stand his evidence is entirely devoid of passion, and, although feeling proper pride in professional success, he never, for the sake of making a point, seeks to stretch the truth or give a false color to his recital of facts. His brain is logical, his memory wonderful, his expressions accurate. Whatever he knows he tells squarely, but he pretends to no knowledge beyond that which is actually in his possession. As a consequence, although he has been a witness in a large number of cases of like character in which the same evidence is continually re-

peated, he has defied cross-examination. This affords a sure test of the truthfulness of a witness. The best-devised and most probable story, if contrary to the actual fact, will break down under the ordeal of patient, able, and repeated cross-examination. To that ordeal has McParlan been compelled to submit: repeatedly for many hours at a time has he answered the questions of able counsel, but, ever cool, calm, and deliberate, ready and clear, he has not lost his head nor has his testimony been in the least degree shaken.

He is a man of considerable information, mainly self-taught, having had but a limited education in his boyhood. His early history is that of many a young Irishman. The son of poor parents, he saw in his native land no opportunities for advancement or for the gratification of even a moderate ambition. To tear asunder family ties and break from early associations is always painful, and especially is this the case when the separation is measured by a mighty ocean. The aged parents give their parting blessing and their sad farewell with but small hope of meeting the departing son this side of the grave. The son, more hopeful, is nevertheless borne down under the memory of early associations, a sad farewell to a childhood's home and a native land, and the chilling prospect of an undefined future among strangers. But the necessity felt by many another poor lad was upon young McParlan; his future was before him, and he saw in Ireland no field for his ambition.

In the year 1863—then being about nineteen years of age—he left for England, where he remained for three years, during the greater part of which time he was employed as a laborer in the Tyne Chemical Works, Gateshead. He traveled some short distance during this period, working at different points. When twenty-two years of age he returned to Ireland, and engaged himself as a stock-keeper in the linen manufacturing establishment of Wil-

liam Kirk & Sons, Belfast, Ireland, where he remained until the spring of 1867.

His hopes for the future now centring in the United States, his parents gave their sad consent, and, with little other means than their blessing and a letter of introduction from his late employers to their American agents, he embarked at Liverpool for New York, where he arrived in the latter part of June, 1867.

Very soon after his arrival he was attracted by the reports he had heard of Chicago, and to that city he made up his mind to go when possessed of sufficient means. Messrs. Anderson, Smith & Co., 38 Park Place, New York, to whom was addressed his letter of introduction, had no place vacant in their own establishment, but in the course of a couple of months procured him a situation with a man named Cummins, a retail merchant at Medina, in the State of New York. In the mean time, whilst in New York City, he had been in the employ of McDonald & Boas, grocers, attending behind the counter, delivering packages, and doing any other work necessary or required.

Still having Chicago in view, he remained but little over a month at Medina, and in the latter part of September started for, and arrived at, his coveted destination. During the fall of 1867 and the winter and spring of 1868 he had to "scratch" for a living. He worked as a teamster for a road-contractor, drove a meat-wagon, was a deck hand on a lake steamer, and chopped wood in the wilds of Michigan. He returned to Chicago in the spring, where he was again a teamster and drover.

The industrious habits and pleasing address of the young Irishman attracted the attention of Mr. John Alston, of the firm of Alston, Devore & Co., who employed him as coachman and has ever since continued his friend. He remained in this position only until July, 1868, when he succeeded in obtaining a situation more congenial to his

disposition, as policeman and detective of the Merchants' Police Agency of W. S. Burbine & Co. Two years with this agency, and several months a member of the Chicago city police, he made his first essays as a detective, and met with such success as to give fair promise of future eminence in his profession.

A position in the wholesale liquor establishment of Messrs. Dodge & Bros., No. 9 South Franklin Street, Chicago, was offered him, and, in the hope of advancing his condition, accepted. He won the confidence of his employers and succeeded in adding somewhat to his slender stock of earnings. At the end of eight months, encouraged and aided by them and other friends, he embarked in business on his own account by opening a liquor store at 349 South Canal Street. His venture prospering, he shortly after increased his business by opening a saloon, in addition to his store, near the corner of Twelfth Street and Centre Avenue, and believed himself to be on the road to competency if not large fortune.

It will be observed that McParlan, although in the humbler walks of life, had made continual advancement from the time he arrived in 1867, a poor and friendless young man, in the streets of New York, until a little over three years afterwards he is established in a prosperous business in his own behalf, with influential friends ready and willing to assist him, in the leading city of the West. But "man proposes, God disposes." The fire of October 8th and 9th, 1871, laid a great portion of Chicago in ruins, and with it went his Canal Street store. Then, so far as the liquor business was concerned, as McParlan himself remarks, he was "extinct." His saloon not paying well under the altered condition of affairs, he sold out, and in April, 1872, he was employed by Allan Pinkerton, of the National Police Agency. However unfortunate the great fire of Chicago was to McParlan and to many thou-

sands of others, its result in forcing him to adopt his former profession has been of incalculable advantage to the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and through them to the general business interests of the country.

Connected with his earlier career as a detective, many a strange, ofttimes thrilling and sometimes ludicrous, story might be told, which will, perhaps, some day afford a theme for another pen. Suffice it to say here that the ability which he displayed won the confidence of the Agency to such an extent that when the arrangement was made with Franklin B. Gowen, Esq., on the part of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, to undermine and destroy the "Molly Maguires" of the anthracite coal regions, McParlan was selected as the operative. The magnitude of the end in view, the difficulties, risks, and dangers of the enterprise, the glory of success arising from repeated failures, and the ample discretionary powers required, rendered the selection a high compliment.

In the month of October, 1873, he arrived in Philadelphia, and reported himself to Benjamin Franklin, the superintendent of the Agency there, as ready for action. A general plan was agreed upon, and modes of communication by cipher and otherwise were established. Frequent reports were required,—daily, or even oftener when necessary or practicable. It was not in view at this time that McParlan should himself ever become a witness; the intention was to discover, if possible, the criminals who infested the coal regions, to learn of their inside workings, to give notice of intended outrages, so that when possible they might be prevented, and when this could not be done, to point out the offenders and secretly furnish information and evidence for their conviction.

The character of the outrages committed and the manner of their commission had led to a belief in the existence of a powerful organization located in the very

heart of the mining operations. It was fully appreciated that every move should be made cautiously; it was fully understood that by one single error the work of months might be rendered of no avail, and that by one false step future operations would be made still more dangerous, if not impossible. Before entering on the work, a knowledge of the various localities and differing characteristics of the people, to be obtained through actual observation, was deemed requisite. This was considered advisable for a number of reasons: it would render the detective better able to enter into and understand ordinary subjects of conversation, and would give him a clearer idea of the field he had to work in. The details of his action and future movements were left as a matter either of discretion or of after-consideration.

Under such general instructions, McParlan entered upon the scene of action. In the month of October, 1873, he took the cars in Philadelphia, with Port Clinton—a small town situated on the dividing line between the counties of Schuylkill and Berks—as his destination. Here he for the first time assumed the name of JAMES McKENNA, a name by which he was known during the whole period of his residence in Schuylkill County, up to March, 1876.

Port Clinton, a small but thriving village, a railroad junction, with some manufacturing industries, frequented by railroad hands, but with the Pennsylvania German element predominating among its residents, was soon understood, and, to the detective, uninteresting. Remaining there but one day, he passed a few miles up the railroad to Auburn. Here he found the Pennsylvania Dutch in full force. The town was small, and the inhabitants evidently not bloodthirsty; but, according to his own account, here it was that his main duties as an officer were appealed to. He showed obedience to orders in stopping there, but his discretion told him to leave within a few hours. A ride of

about fifteen miles on the Schuylkill and Susquehanna branch of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, through a beautiful farming country, and he was rewarded by a sight of the pretty little town of Pinegrove. Not being interested in the subject of agriculture nor in search of a pleasant place of residence, the same day found him on the return trip to Auburn, and from there he went still farther up the railroad to Schuylkill Haven.

Schuylkill Haven, although outside of the coal region, is only four miles from Pottsville, is at the junction of the Mine Hill branch with the main line of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and is also at the head of the Schuylkill Canal. Although possessing many of the characteristics of a central town in an agricultural district, the heavy coal shipments on the canal, and the number of boatmen and railroad hands congregated there, presented subjects for examination, and afforded him opportunities to form acquaintance. Here he remained about four days, visiting the coal wharves, the company shops, and the surrounding country; also, while here, he availed himself of the opportunity to pay a visit of a few hours to Pottsville.

From Schuylkill Haven McKenna proceeded to Tremont, which place he made his headquarters for about a week. Here he had his first conversations relative to the "Molly Maguires." He pretended to believe an assertion of the existence of that organization, made in the *Boston Pilot*, to be without foundation. He was, however, assured by a railroader named Fitzgibbons and a tavern-keeper named Donohue, both of whom asserted that they were not members, that the society had an existence, that Mahanoy City was full of its members, and that the organization was bad in its character.

Tremont was in the coal region, and here he made his first acquaintance with miners and laborers. Pretending to be in search of work, from that point he visited Newtown,

Swatara, Middle Creek, Rausch's Creek, and Donaldson, at each place forming acquaintances and extending his information. He next passed to the western part of Schuylkill County, where he paid a visit of some four days to Tower City and the surrounding coal-mines. Here he heard the assertions repeated as to the existence of the "Molly Maguires," but the point of their strength was again alleged to be in the Mahanoy Valley, north of the Broad Mountain. From Tower City he made his way back to Tremont, and from there to Minersville, a town of about five thousand inhabitants, four miles to the west of Pottsville, where he remained several days.

McKenna now left the coal region and went to Philadelphia to make a personal report to Superintendent Franklin, remaining in that city about two weeks. He had obtained some idea of the country, had made a number of acquaintances, and had satisfied himself that the "Molly Maguire" organization was no myth, but a terrible reality.

A course of policy was again marked out, and Pottsville selected as the proper place for McParlan to make his headquarters, that city being the centre of business in Schuylkill County, the county seat, where were located the offices of the railroad and mining companies, and as a consequence being frequented by all classes of the population and residents of all parts of the county.

Whilst the "Molly Maguires" had not yet attained sufficient hardihood openly to defy law and authority in Pottsville, it nevertheless had a number of members of the order among its citizens, and several of their places of resort in its very centre. It was conceived that at this point a general acquaintance with the order throughout the region could be best formed, and from there a proper place for the basis of future operations be best selected.

It will be borne in mind that up to the time here referred to, and throughout the whole of his operations in the coal

region, the system of daily reports was maintained. These reports, still in existence, and in the possession of the Pinkerton Agency, form a proud record of the industry, the ability, and the honesty of McParlan the detective.

CHAPTER IX.

McPARLAN.—CONTINUED.

McPARLAN, or McKenna, as he was now called, returned to the coal region in December, 1873, after his visit to Philadelphia, with the intention, as already stated, of making Pottsville his immediate headquarters. He obtained boarding with Mrs. O'Regan, East Norwegian Street, and at once earnestly entered upon the duties for which he had been employed. He had become fully satisfied by this time that if every member of the A. O. H., or Ancient Order of Hibernians, was not a "Molly Maguire," it was a pretty well-established fact that every "Molly Maguire" was a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. This order, regularly chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania as a benevolent association, paraded its existence before the world, and made no special secret of the times and places of its meetings.

Before McParlan left Chicago, it had been determined upon by Allan Pinkerton that he was to join the organization, and to do so was a part of his instructions. Its members were known, and very many of them were soon his friends and associates. He was "a broth of a boy." He had, according to his own account, come to the coal region in search of a job, but, as he had just left a good place in Philadelphia, where he had saved some money, he was in

no special hurry about the matter. He could, according to the style and taste of those of his nationality, sing a good song, dance a jig, and pass a rough joke. He was polite and attentive to the girls, could drink his share of whisky and pay for it, and was open for a row or shindy of any kind. Altogether, his manners were those of as rollicking, impulsive, generous, careless, unreasonable, quarrelsome, devil-may-care an Irishman as could be found in the four counties.

At an early day after locating in Pottsville, McKenna formed the friendship of Pat Dormer, a Molly Maguire, one of the commissioners of the county, and the keeper of a drinking-saloon and "Molly" resort, called the Sheridan House, on Centre Street. He quickly marked Dormer as a fit subject on whom to commence operations, and as a consequence, alone or in company, he was frequently loafing in front of the counter when Pat played the part of his own bar-tender. An opportunity for establishing confidence presented itself. McKenna's boon companions grew careless, and a toast, the words of which he remembered, was several times repeated and responded to in his presence. This was sufficient for the detective: watching an opportunity when he was the only guest, he treated the landlord, and, leaning mysteriously across the counter, tipped glasses, and in a significant manner repeated the words of the toast he had heard.

"What!" said Dormer, surprised, "are you one of them things?"

"That's what they call me," replied McKenna.

Dormer, without further inquiry, accepted the position, and confidence was established between the two. McKenna told him that he had been a member of the Ancient Order in Buffalo, where he owned some houses, but that owing to a crime which he had committed there he had left in a hurry, and was unable not only to collect his rents, but

also, for fear of detection, to communicate with his society. He stated likewise that, whilst he had some money on hand, he would like to get a job of work, and to keep up his connection with the organization. The story excited Dormer's sympathy. He said that Michael Lawler, of the Shenandoah Division, was a personal friend of his, and that he had no doubt that Lawler would, on his recommendation, aid McKenna in getting a job at Shenandoah.

Although Dormer had fallen so readily into the snare, McKenna's path to knowledge was not always strewn with roses. Dormer, a night or two after the interview just referred to, introduced him to Michael Cooney as a member of the order. Cooney required too much proof. McKenna's stock of knowledge was soon exhausted, and he floundered. Cooney became indignant. McKenna, to get out of the scrape, assumed intoxication, called for drinks all around, apparently took a very big drink himself, reeled, and fell over on the floor, where he lay feigning sleep.

Cooney still continued indignant, abused McKenna, and said that he had a notion to kick him on the head.

Dormer remonstrated. "The fellow is all right," he said; "he is a good fellow, and belongs to the order; he is a little intoxicated now, but when he gets sober he will be able to explain it all to you."

"I don't believe it," replied Cooney; "and I wouldn't believe him unless he brought a card from his body-master."

The situation was not pleasant; McKenna had made a narrow escape from getting a severe bruising; but he had gained two additional items of information, namely, that cards were issued, and that the officer issuing them was the body-master.

Several weeks after this occurrence McKenna met Michael Lawler, who was then the body-master of the Shenandoah

Division, at the Sheridan House; they were introduced, and a strong recommendation of McKenna was privately given Lawler by Dormer. McKenna did his utmost to impress his new acquaintance favorably, and succeeded. Arrangements were then made for him to visit Shenandoah with a prospect of obtaining work.

Prior to this time the detective had been extending his acquaintanceship throughout the coal region. His usual course was to stop at some hotel or tavern frequented by workingmen, or to go to some boarding-house suitable for the purpose he had in view. He stopped about a week in St. Clair (three miles from Pottsville); then, crossing the Broad Mountain, he remained a few days at Girardville; from thence he journeyed to Ashland, which place he made his residence a sufficient length of time to enable him to increase his acquaintance and enlarge his knowledge of the coal region.

After his return to Pottsville, his circle of friends not only increased, but, owing to the spread of the impression that he had been formerly connected with the order, he was enabled to gain a more comprehensive view of its extent and power. His reckless, daring manners, together with an impression that he was himself creating of an utter disregard of all laws, human and divine, induced an unusual degree of confidence to be placed in him. He still kept up the fiction that he was in search of work, except to some friends, to whom he threw out vague intimations of his being a fugitive from justice. Avowedly in search of work, after remaining several weeks in Pottsville he visited Mahanoy City, where he made a short sojourn; thence to Tamaqua, and from there again returned to Pottsville.

This was in the latter part of January, 1874. It was at this time that he made the acquaintance of Michael Lawler, or, as he was generally called, "Muff" Lawler, and agreed to go to Shenandoah to get work.

He had now made up his mind, and had so reported to Mr. Franklin, that his true base of operations was in the Mahanoy Valley, north of the Broad Mountain. In the early part of February, 1874, he made his first visit to Shenandoah, on his way stopping over Sunday at Girardville, and Monday night at Colorado, a mining town in that neighborhood.

About the 10th of February he arrived at Shenandoah, which place he thereafter made his home; going back and forth from there, until his position as a police-officer was discovered and his career as an operating detective in the coal region had ended.

Shenandoah, a town of about nine thousand inhabitants, has sprung into existence within the last thirteen years. It lies a few miles north of Mahanoy City, and to the east of Ashland, and is built upon and surrounded by coal lands of almost fabulous value. The improvements are commensurate with the value of the lands, some of the largest collieries in the world being there in successful operation. Both the Philadelphia and Reading and the Lehigh Valley Railroads extend through the town, severally claiming a share of the rich deposit of coal. The population consists in the main of miners and laborers, although bankers, store-keepers, lawyers, doctors, editors, ministers, mechanics, and artisans of various kinds constitute an important element. The miners and laborers are, however, not only the controlling political element, but also the great source from which directly or indirectly the remainder of the population derives its support. As a consequence, the fluctuations of the coal trade, with their effect upon the rate of wages, are quickly felt by all classes of the community, and as a further consequence, not only the "Labor Union" but also the "Molly Maguire" organization was here openly defiant and advocated extreme measures, which, although not generally approved, were maintained against opposition.

In the latter part of February, 1874, McKenna obtained work at the Indian Ridge shaft, near Shenandoah, as a laborer. Here he remained a little over two weeks. Upon some trivial pretext he threw up this job, and engaged himself at the West Shenandoah colliery, where he remained about seven or eight days.

Some ludicrous stories are current as to McKenna's attempt to work in the coal-mines. He at first insisted upon working in full dress. Soon his coat was thrown aside, then his vest, and finally his shirt. He perspired and suffered under the unwonted labor, but nevertheless bore himself manfully. The work in the mines would soon have become as pleasant as any other manual labor, but he found no occasion to test that question fully. He quickly discovered that it was not as the skillful miner or industrious laborer that admission to or influence in the "Molly Maguire" organization was to be obtained.

He first boarded a week or two with his new friend, Michael or "Muff" Lawler, and was by him introduced to the boarding-house of Fenton Cooney, who was also a member of the order. A very short intercourse with his new associates convinced him that not only were the rights of person and of property and the laws of the land regarded with contempt by the "Molly" organization, but that he who had committed the greatest number and deadliest of crimes and had at the same time evaded the law was looked upon with admiration and respect. He also soon discovered that the man who supported himself or his family by a course of honest industry was held in far less esteem than the man who had acquired money by fraud or trick. The great corporations, the land-owners, and the coal operators were viewed as enemies and oppressors, who had no rights, and against whom any advantage, however unfair, might be taken. The positions of Township Auditor, Supervisor of Roads, Treasurer, School Director, and

Tax Collector were eagerly sought for, and when obtained the duties were administered with a criminal disregard of the rights of the public. Fraudulent, altered, and forged orders were issued with perfect boldness, and corruption in the management of public trust prevailed to an extent that would have excited the admiration of the boldest operator in the Tweed ring in its palmiest days. It is no exaggeration to say that the frauds in many townships in the coal region were far greater, in proportion to the amount involved, than any charged to New York or Philadelphia jobs. Many of the "Molly" leaders were tavern- and saloon-keepers, and their houses headquarters for the turbulent and discontented, where were devised schemes by which the different coal operations could be run in the interest of the organization by means of superintendents and bosses of their selection and by them forced into position.

McKenna, upon finding that not only were his purposes not advanced, but that his movements were hampered and controlled by being confined as a miner and laborer, stopped work about the 10th of March, 1874. He had now gained sufficient insight into the workings of the order to be enabled to state boldly that he was a member. He gave up the story of having accumulated money in Philadelphia, and began, to those confidential friends who under no circumstances can keep a secret, to tell of criminal acts which excited even their admiration. He had two explanations for his present means of support: one was that he was in receipt of a pension from the United States government, obtained fraudulently, and the other that he was "shoving the queer," in other words, passing counterfeit money.

To "Muff" Lawler he told, with more detail, the story he had already related to Pat Dormer, in Pottsville, relative to his Buffalo adventures. According to his account he had

worked at a grain-elevator there (describing one that had no existence), and had quarreled with and killed a man under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, but assigned reasons that rendered him perfectly justifiable from the "Molly" stand-point. He suggested that as writing to Buffalo to obtain a card from the body-master there might lead to his detection and arrest, it would be better that he should be initiated over again and become an active member of the Shenandoah Division, of which he (Lawler) was body-master. The reasons given were satisfactory, and accordingly, on the 14th of April, 1874, the ceremony of initiation was gone through with at Lawler's house by reading to him an obligation called the "test," which he kissed in token of secrecy. He was now a full-fledged member of a society known throughout the coal regions, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, but among themselves recognized as the dreaded "Molly Maguires." He found the society acting avowedly under an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, approved March 10, 1871; and that its motto was "Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity." He found, further, that in its written constitution and by-laws were embodied the purest sentiments of morality and benevolence, not only as between the members, but as to all the world besides. But he also found that the written principles for the governance of the order were but a thin cloak to cover their real purposes in the perpetration and concealment of crime. Whilst there was no pretense at carrying out the avowed object of the society as a benevolent association, it was not every new and young member that was fully trusted: education was sometimes necessary before entering into full communion. The chief county officer, called the County Delegate, was alone deemed worthy of being made cognizant of all transactions; whilst even in a lodge or division the chief officer, called the Body-master, and those immediately concerned, were some-

times, although not always, alone aware of a contemplated or perpetrated outrage. The members of one division could only under special circumstances be admitted to the deliberations of other lodges or chapters of the order; and as a consequence McKenna found that he had advanced but one step towards the object he had in view. He found that to attain his ends he would have to out-herod Herod or out-"Molly" a "Molly."

The character he had first assumed he intensified: he became loud, brawling, and boastful of crimes of all grades, from petty larceny to murder. He was ready to drink, sing, dance, court a girl, or fight. He boasted of the great benefit that he had been to the order, and was ever ready to pretend sympathy with the perpetrators of a crime, after its commission, which he had been unable to prevent and the full details of which he was anxious to discover. By reason of the merit he claimed to himself he succeeded in being elected secretary of his division, whereby he obtained a seat in the county conventions; and he had ambition for still higher preferment. In every hole and corner of the coal-region portions of Schuylkill, Northumberland, and Carbon Counties (with an occasional visit to Luzerne) Jimmy McKenna could at different times be found among the order, the loudest talker and apparently the biggest "Molly" of them all. But it is simple justice to James McParlan to state that this was only in appearance: with all his show of devotion to the order he never asked a man to join it, never by word or deed suggested or encouraged a crime. To this he has testified in trials both in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties. In Carbon County a desperate effort was made to prove the contrary, not only without success, but with a signal failure that recoiled upon the prisoner. The ill success there proved a warning to the defense in subsequent cases in Schuylkill County, and the effort to prove

him in any respect an accomplice has been entirely abandoned.

It may be in place to mention at this point that the hardships endured by McParlan, in combination with the bad whisky he was compelled to swallow, resulted in a most singular effect upon his personal appearance during the latter part of his residence at Shenandoah. All of the hair fell off his head; he lost his eyebrows, and his eyesight became impaired. Seeing him with a slouch hat on a bald pate, with green spectacles, rough shirt, and an old linen coat, swaggering along the streets, the last idea likely to present itself was that through his exertions a new era of peace, of law, and of order was about to dawn on the anthracite coal-fields.

CHAPTER X.

THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.

ACCORDING to the sworn testimony of McParlan and others, produced in what are known as the "Molly" trials in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, the organization of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the United States is as follows:

The society has an existence in Great Britain as well as America, the whole being under the control of what is known as the "Board of Erin," selected from members in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from whom every three months the signs and passwords are obtained.

The national officers of the United States, with headquarters at New York, consist of National Delegate, Na-

tional Secretary, National Treasurer, and President of the Board of the city and county of New York.

These officers are selected by the State officers.

Pennsylvania State officers, with headquarters at Pittsburg, consist of a State Delegate, State Treasurer, and State Secretary.

These officers are selected by the county officers.

The county officers consist of County Delegate, County Treasurer, and County Secretary.

These officers are elected at county conventions, consisting of officers of the divisions.

The officers of the several divisions consist of Division Master or Body-master, Secretary, and Treasurer.

These officers are elected by the members of the divisions respectively.

The requirement for membership is that the applicant be an Irishman, or the son of an Irishman, professing the Roman Catholic faith.

We are told that in the United States there are in the neighborhood of six thousand divisions, or lodges, of the "Ancient Order of Hibernians." To even suspect that this large organization as a body is of the same character or in any way sympathizes or has complicity with the "Molly Maguires" of the coal region, is extremely painful. The country and the world will be inclined to receive any reasonable explanation rather than believe that so many thousands of Irish-American citizens are faithless to God and morality, the land of their nativity, and the land of their adoption.

But the question forces itself, Why is there not instant disavowal of the acts of the coal-region ruffians by every division in the country? The crimes proven are fearful in atrocity, the society as organized in the coal region has not its parallel for evil in the history of the world. No obligation is sacred to its members; possessed with a fiend-

ish lust for blood, arson and murder are but sport and pastime. And yet out of six thousand lodges in America, and a large organization in Great Britain, not one word of repudiation of these hellish acts, except by part of division No. 2, of Philadelphia, has been uttered. It requires a charity that "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," to ascribe such non-action to a national prejudice against the "spy" and "informer."

That by the passwords of the society no favorable impression is created, certainly as to the general character of the members in Great Britain, where those passwords originate, is to be regretted. The general character of the passwords, it is to be presumed, can be judged from those given in testimony by James McParlan. The signs and passwords were entitled "goods" or "benefits."

Received 14th April, 1874:

PASSWORD.—"The Emperor of France and Don Carlos of Spain,
They unite together and the Pope's right maintain."

Answer.—"Will tenant rights in Ireland flourish
If the people unite and the landlords subdue?"

QUARRELING TOAST.—"Your temper is high."

Answer.—"I have good reason to."

NIGHT PASSWORD.—"The nights are very dark."

Answer.—"I hope they will soon mend."

SIGN.—The little finger of the right hand to the corner of the right eye.

Answer.—Catch the lapel of the vest with the little finger and thumb of the left hand.

May 18, 1874:

PASSWORD.—"That the trouble of the country may soon be at end."

Answer.—"And likewise the men who will not her defend."

QUARRELING TOAST.—"You should not dispute with a friend."

Answer.—"Not if I am not provoked."

NIGHT PASSWORD.—"Long nights are unpleasant."

Answer.—"I hope they will be at an end."

SIGN.—The front finger and thumb of the right hand to touch the neck-tie or top button of the shirt.

Answer.—Right hand to rub across forehead touching hair.

August 10, 1874:

PASSWORD.—"What do you think of the Mayo election?
I think the fair West has made a bad selection."

Answer.—"Whom do you think will duty betray?"

QUARRELING TOAST.—"Don't get your temper so high."

Answer.—"Not with a friend."

SIGN.—Putting the thumb of right hand into the pocket of the pantaloons.

Answer.—Putting the thumb of left hand on the lower lip.

October 28, 1874:

PASSWORD.—"What do you think of D'Israeli's plan?
He still keeps home rule from our native land."

Answer.—"But still with good swords and men at command
We will give long-lost rights to our native land."

NIGHT PASSWORD.—"The night looks gloomy."

Answer.—"I hope we will soon have a change."

QUARRELING TOAST.—"You are very provoking, sir."

Answer.—"I am not to blame."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST:

Question.—"May the President of France the general so grand"

Answer.—"Banish all heresy and free Ireland."

Sign omitted.

January 11, 1875:

PASSWORD:

Question.—"Gladstone's policy must be put down:
He is the main support of the British crown."

Answer.—"But our Catholic lords will not support his plan,
For true to their church they will firmly stand."

QUARRELING TOAST:

Question.—"Don't give way to anger."

Answer.—"I will obey a friend."

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—"The nights are getting shorter."

Answer.—"They will soon be at their shortest."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—"Let every Irish peasant
Espousing Erin's cause,
In college green
They may be seen
There making Irish laws."

SIGN.—Nail of the right thumb across the bridge of the nose.

Answer.—Tip of the forefinger of the left hand to the chin.

May 14, 1875:

PASSWORD:

Question.—"What is your opinion of the Tipperary election?
I think England broke her constitution by Mitchell's rejection."

Answer.—"But didn't O'Connell resign his oath and seat?
Yes, and by agitation gained the emancipation."

QUARRELING TOAST:

Question.—"Keep your temper cool."

Answer.—"I will not raise it to a friend."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—"Here's that every Irishman may stand to his cause,
And subdue the British government and its coercion laws."

SIGN.—The forefinger of the right hand in the left sleeve of the coat.

Answer.—The thumb of the left hand in the left side vest-pocket.

November 4, 1875:

PASSWORD.—"Here's health to every Irishman
That lives in Ireland,
To assemble round in Dublin Town
In memory of Great Dan."

Answer.—"When born he found our country
In chains and slavery;
He labored hard to set her free,
But now he's in the clay."

QUARRELING TOAST:

Question.—"You seem to be getting vexed."

Answer.—"Not with you, sir."

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—"These nights are fine."

Answer.—"Yes; we shall have a fine harvest."

SIGN.—Tip of the forefinger of the right hand to the hole of the right ear.

Answer.—Tip of the forefinger of the left hand to the hole of the left ear.

January 22, 1876:

PASSWORD:

Question.—"Home rule in Ulster is making great progress."

Answer.—"Yes, if every Irishman would support the cause."

Question.—"I wonder if Ireland can gain tenant-right?"

Answer.—"Yes, if supported by the Irish members."

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—"Moonlight is pleasant."

Answer.—"Yes, so is freedom."

QUARRELING TOAST:

Question.—"Be calm, sir."

Answer.—"I am never too boisterous."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—"Here's to every Irishman that crossed the Atlantic wave,
That they may return with heart and hand their native land to save."

Sign omitted.

These were the last "goods" McParlan received, as the fact of his being a detective was shortly after this time suspected, and in the following March he left the coal regions.*

That the passwords and toasts are imbued with a spirit of disloyalty to the English government only demonstrates a fact well understood, to wit, that the Irishman now, as in years gone by, is chafing under English rule, and has an earnest desire not only for "home rule," but also for absolute independence. It is a matter of regret that the deep-rooted hostility to England, which appears to be a part of the nature of Irishmen, should be fostered and

* See in Appendix copy of the test, and also additional toasts and signs.

encouraged in what appears to be a hopeless struggle: still, that it is so encouraged occasions no surprise.

But the character of the society is placed under suspicion by the nature of their passwords. It would appear from them that the universal use of intoxicating liquors among the members is recognized and approved. The passwords are as surely the toasts to be used among members over their cups as is the body-master's toast among the chief officers. But by the quarreling toast is also recognized a rough and turbulent spirit among the members, whilst by the night password is acknowledged traveling by night in unfrequented places. It would also seem to imply a ruffianly disposition in the night-time, from the consequences of which the use of the night password would protect one member against another.

The case would appear to stand in favor of the order as follows: reputed good character of many of its members in divisions outside of the coal regions; no conclusive proof of the participation of any such divisions with criminal acts in the coal region or elsewhere; a charter, in the provisions of which are embodied principles of benevolence, morality, universal brotherhood, and religion.

To this extent the position is in their favor. On the other hand, passwords and toasts imply a general habit of drinking, quarreling, and suspicious night journeyings. From no quarter does there appear evidence of any acts of benevolence accomplished in pursuance of the avowed object of their organization; with but one exception, there has been no repudiation of the coal-region fiends, and uncontradicted testimony exists of the participation of national officers in aiding the escape of a criminal and using for this purpose society funds.

It is to be regretted that McParlan could not have remained a sufficient length of time in the order to have investigated the subject fully. If, as is to be hoped and

the general disposition is to believe, notwithstanding the unfortunate position taken by the society in making no public disavowal, the great body of the Ancient Order of Hibernians are law-abiding citizens, by such investigation they would have been fully vindicated. If, however, it should have been discovered that the society is a disgrace to humanity and a foul canker on the body politic, not only this country but Great Britain would have been under the greatest obligations,—for, understanding the evil, the remedy could be applied.

Taking the most favorable view of the matter, the shield of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, inscribed as it is with the motto, "Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity," has been tarnished, its fair name and fame clouded, and its existence regarded with suspicion. If, as a fact, it is carrying out in good faith the avowed objects of its organization, it may emerge purified by its present disgrace. If, on the contrary, its charter is elsewhere, as in the coal regions, the mere cloak to cover lawless and criminal acts, the end of the order is in the near future, and it will soon be but a memory of infamy and shame.

Membership of the "Molly Maguire" society does not carry with it the right to attend the meetings of any division of the order; on the contrary, the right of attendance is confined to the one to which the membership attaches.

A member in good standing can, however, change his division by bringing a card of recommendation from the body-master. When it is proposed to use the card out of the county, the county delegate places upon it his private mark. The card can be presented to either a body-master or county delegate. If to a body-master, he will forward it to the county delegate to verify the private mark. In leaving the State a traveling card is used, which also receives the mark of the county delegate.

The body-master's toast is given only to body-masters,

and is used for the purpose of making one known to the other.

If, after the use of the quarreling toast, a blow is struck, the offender is subject to be tried and expelled.

The practice relative to the commission of crimes was systematized. When an outrage was to be committed in any particular district, the body-master of that district would apply either to the county delegate or the body-master of another division for men to do the work, such men to be unknown to the parties upon whom the outrage was to be perpetrated. These men or the division would receive a guarantee that if they wanted a like favor in their locality it would be reciprocated.

The men were either selected by direct appointment by the body-master or chosen by lot.

The penalty for refusal to act under the instruction of the county delegate was expulsion; but it has never, according to the detective, proven necessary to enforce such penalty on that account.

In case of the arrest of a member of the order for crime, the first effort is to raise money to pay counsel, and the next to procure witnesses to prove an "alibi."

The commission of crime was determined upon either by the body-master, by a meeting of the division, by the county delegate, or by a meeting of body-masters and other principal men of the organization called by the county delegate.

It was but seldom that members of another division were called upon to commit highway-robbery or murder for the sake of gain; but when outrages of this kind were committed by individual members on their own responsibility, the act was indorsed and the criminal sustained by all the machinery at the command of the order.

The usual subjects of complaint were against bosses and superintendents at collieries who had refused work to mem-

bers of the order; and this was a special cause of offense when the work applied for was given to other than an Irishman.

To take possession of a house belonging to a colliery, but occupied by a member of the organization, or by a friend of a member, was also a serious offense, notwithstanding such action was taken by the boss under direct instruction and the house was needed for the purposes of the work.

To carry out instructions of the coal operator and owner against the rules established by the men was a serious offense, and resulted frequently not only in exciting the indignation of the Mollies, but also in the stoppage of the whole work by the "Labor Union."

The gratification of a whim, revenge for a fancied slight, personal dislike, or pure wantonness, justified beatings, arson, even murder. The actual perpetrator of the outrage, influenced by no personal feeling against the victim, to whose very existence he had hitherto been a stranger, did not stop to ask the cause of offense or in any way to judge the merits of the controversy. He obeyed orders or accepted the chance of the choice by lot. He applied the torch which destroyed property worth thousands of dollars, bringing financial distress and ruin upon men against whom he had no feeling or cause of complaint, and throwing hundreds out of employment with whom he not only pretended, but actually had, sympathy. He waylaid and fearfully beat men who had never done him the slightest injury, and towards whom he had not even an unkind thought. He murdered in cold blood, with the ferocity of the fiend and with the stealth of the assassin, men on the instant brought to his knowledge, from whom he had never suffered injury, and regarding whom he did not even know what was charged against them.

And yet, strange to say, the perpetrators of these outrages were frequently young men on the very threshold of life, with hearts capable of being touched by a tale of

suffering, and with hands ever ready to succor the afflicted and distressed. Not even a course of evil life and dissipation was the inducing cause of their lawless acts. Born of poor but honest parents, and with humble Christian training, the young man who never tasted liquor, whose surroundings were apparently pure, and whose character was unsuspected, would become the perpetrator of a terrible and cruel murder. Such a course of conduct appears contrary to every theory of crime, and is the result of false ideas of honor, false ideas of friendship, false ideas of fraternity, false ideas of patriotism, and a perversion of every good and noble impulse.

Arrested and before the bar of outraged justice, tender tokens of affection, and kindly acts of friendship, are manifested, and the sorrowing father, the loving mother, the clinging wife, are all seen. The friend stands firm through good report and through evil report. Heroic fortitude and unexampled bravery are combined with an utter callousness in regard to the crime committed; as to it, not one regret is apparently felt, there is not one thought of a dishonored family, of outraged law, of a disgraced nationality, of an angered God.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LONG STRIKE—McPARLAN, CONTINUED.

McKENNA, in April, 1874, was a member in good standing of the Shenandoah branch of the "Molly Maguire" organization. Owing to the independent means of support which he avowed, his movements were untrammeled. His acquaintance was now extensive, and the necessity of a constant change of base in "shoving the queer" ac-

counted for his frequent journeyings. The rule of the order, which prevented visitors from attending the meetings of other divisions and taking public part in their deliberations, still prevented the easy attainment of his object to obtain full knowledge of all that was going on and the names and acquaintance of all the members. By means of his literary qualifications and his simulated zeal and ardor for the advancement of the society, combined with his apparent willingness to join in the commission of any act, however desperate, he easily succeeded in obtaining the position of secretary of his division. By reason of that office, and by loud, boastful talk and self-assertion, he soon acquired the reputation and position of a leader.

He was also enabled by virtue of his office to have a seat in county conventions of the order, and to establish intimate relations with the county delegate, at that time Barney Dolan. Loud-talking and apparently reckless, by his logical power he gained respect, and by his plausibility and tact acquired the reputation not only of being ready for any enterprise, but also of being a knowing and safe operator.

New in the order, with position to obtain, with confidence to gain and strengthen, with its full workings throughout the region to become versed in, with extensive acquaintance to acquire, during the summer and fall of 1874 he not only attained all the ends in view, but made rapid headway towards the detection of crimes supposed to be long buried in the mists of the past. How much was accomplished, what discoveries were made, what still remains obscure, it is not proper here to state. In some cases the perpetrators are dead, in others the veil may never be uplifted, exposing to public view the terrible mysteries of the past, whilst in others the footprints of the avenger are even now upon the track, and from countries of the Old World, from the islands of the distant Pacific,

from across great waters or from the recesses of rugged mountains, the criminal, long resting in fancied security, may be brought to answer at the bar of outraged justice for deeds done in the past.

In the summer and fall of 1874 the "Molly Maguire" was reveling in his extended power and boastful in a fancied security. Tweed in his palmiest day was never more arrogant nor half so unscrupulous. Not exceeding five hundred in number in Schuylkill, and in about that proportion to population throughout the rest of the coal-fields, they yet controlled township affairs in a number of districts, had great influence in the management of counties, and were courted and caressed as a potent political element.

In the control of mining operations the "Labor Union" under the influence of their most extreme counsels was gaining undisputed sway. The coal operator, wearied out with repeated and continued encroachments upon his undoubted rights, had yielded point by point, until his ownership of property—his by purchase and by law—had become almost nominal. The land-owner, groaning under a load of unnecessary taxes, felt himself powerless to stay the evil. As a consequence, unreasonable as the "Molly Maguire" has proved himself, there were during this period but few notorious outrages.

In December, 1874, commenced the "long strike." "Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad;" and this would seem to be exemplified by this ill-advised movement on the part of the workingmen. It is said that the strike was inaugurated against the advice of the leading men of the "Labor Union;" but, without an idea of the long struggle then commencing being entertained by any one, the strike became an existing fact.

During the year 1874 the interests of the coal trade, and with them the interests of the coal region, had been guided by skillful hands. The failure of Jay Cooke in

the fall of 1873 had shocked the country and the world. Whilst repeated and large failures were reported among operators in speculative stocks, business houses and manufacturing establishments, although much damaged, and those financially weak ruined, kept on in the even tenor of their way, hoping for better days. The cry of depressed trade soon came from every branch of industry and every section of the country. The coal regions alone seemed to weather the storm: the coal combination effected by the great carrying companies kept up the price of coal, and with it the wages of labor, and the hope was openly expressed that while a great financial crisis was about to visit the country, the coal region, generally the first to suffer, would escape unscathed.

At this juncture the strike for higher wages was made,—made at a time when the continued decrease in the demand for coal and increased depression in business imperatively pointed to a reduction in prices, in salaries, and in wages. The strike was, however, in the beginning not regarded as serious, although at an early day the workmen were informed that not only would their demands not be acceded to, but that a reduction of wages would be insisted upon. This was not, however, believed, and matters remained quiet, good humor, in the first instance, prevailing. The strike was inaugurated at a time when the great body of workmen expected to be idle; navigation had closed, the winter stock of coal of the East and South had been laid in; it was the period of limited demand, of what is termed "dead work," in preparation for the coming season. As, however, the attitude of the "coal exchange" was firm, very early came annoyances, in the refusal of the men to allow even sufficient coal to be mined for the use of the furnaces on the line of the road and for the locomotives of the railroad companies. In the mean time, the general business and manufacturing interests of the country were still

more depressed. By the latter part of February, 1875, all hopes of even a partial revival of business in the spring had died out. Many of the large manufacturing and iron establishments of the country, which had struggled through the past year on the accumulated capital resulting from seasons of prosperity, either totally stopped work or ran on half-time; whilst the area of the anthracite coal market had somewhat extended, the uses were being curtailed, and a large falling off in the demand during the coming year was felt to be a certain prospect. The facilities for mining coal created a supply largely in excess of the demand, and the fact was perfectly understood that no combination of the coal-mining companies would enable coal operators to run on full time and maintain prices of coal or wages.

As a consequence, in the beginning of March, 1875, when the policy of the coal operators was fully developed, the struggle began in earnest, the operators maintaining that the reduction of wages was to them a matter of necessity, whilst the "Labor Union" remained firm in the demand that at least the prices of the preceding year should be maintained. The stock of money accumulated by very many of the workmen was now exhausted, and a call was made on kindred associations for assistance. These associations sympathized with the struggles of the miners and laborers; but they had their own interests to guard, and in most instances had themselves yielded to the pressure of the times. The response was, therefore, made with a necessarily sparing hand.

Cases of suffering now appeared. The "Labor Union," in spite of the murmurs of many of its members, maintained its position. Fears of the dreaded "Molly" prevented open revolt on the part of those willing to go to work, whilst outrage and crime became common.*

* See in Appendix the list prepared by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, published in connection with Mr. Gowen's

Intense feeling began to manifest itself on both sides. The "Labor Union" yielded the position, so far as the question of reduction was concerned, but, as a question upon which its existence was involved, demanded to have a voice in the settlement of the basis of wages. A number of the coal operators were willing to commence work on these terms; but the great coal-mining companies, with the entire approval of many individual operators, refused to treat with the "Labor Union" at all. By the action of the great carrying companies in the regulation of freights this policy was enforced.

About the 1st of June, 1875, combined capital, in connection with the depression of business throughout the country, conquered, and the once powerful "Labor Union" experienced a Waterloo defeat.

Most of the "labor-strikes" previously inaugurated had been local in their character, in some instances confined to particular collieries, in others to districts, and again, in others, to the coal shipments by particular lines of railway. In none of these contests had the men suffered overwhelming defeat; they had not always, it is true, obtained their full demands, but the result had generally been a compromise, in which their power was acknowledged, and the outrages committed either by unruly members of the "Union" or indirectly resulting therefrom were, to a certain extent, condoned.

In the month of January, 1875, however, the organization of the "Labor Union" was perfect; not only was the association moving harmoniously throughout the coal regions, but it was assuming a national character, and friendly and profitable relations were established with kindred societies in every section of the country. But in that which appeared their greatest security existed their greatest dan-

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speech, delivered before the Legislative Investigating Committee, July 20th and 30th, 1875.

ger. The coal product was in excess of the demand, and a partial "strike" stopping the mining in a particular section caused an irreparable loss in shipments in such section, whilst it inured to the benefit not of the "strikers," but of the coal producers of other sections. By virtue of the terms of the coal combination in 1874, apportioning to each region its share of tonnage, this result was not so manifest as usual; nevertheless, rival interests and conflicting claims, both as between the shippers and the miners and laborers, had the effect of hastening compromise. The "strike" of 1875, as has been remarked, was ill advised on the part of the "Union." It was ill advised not only by reason of the depressed condition of business everywhere existing, but also in the abandonment of the detailed system of fighting. The conclusion, it is true, appeared rational, that if from the partial combination of labor partial success would result, from complete combination complete success would follow. The error in the calculation was simply this: combined action on the part of the men induced combined action on the part of the whole body of anthracite producers. The strike extending throughout the whole region, the rivalry of capital was at rest. As no anthracite coal was shipped, one section of the region had no advantage over the other, and the market could only be partially supplied by the product of the bituminous coal-fields.

As has been stated, the situation was, as a general rule, regarded with good humor, until the latter part of February or the beginning of March, when the position was first fully appreciated by the men and some conception had of the coming struggle. It is true that prior to this time some dissension existed among the men themselves, occasioned by the resolution of the "Union" requiring that all "dead work" should cease; but a compromise with the coal operators in time for the spring trade was confidently expected.

The firm attitude assumed by the coal operators, and particularly by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company and the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, excited in the minds of the workmen, according to their locality, extreme indignation against their respective presidents, Franklin B. Gowen and Charles W. Parrish, Esqs. It is hardly necessary to say that both these gentlemen fully appreciated the situation, were determined to maintain their position at all hazards and at any sacrifice, and in that policy had the full indorsement of their respective companies.

Against these companies, therefore, intense opposition was manifested by the whole body of the "Labor Union," and the outrages committed by the lawless and turbulent became frequent.

In February, 1875, the shaft-house, at the large shaft on the outskirts of Pottsville, was burned to the ground,—the work of an incendiary. A more wanton outrage it is hard to conceive. Owing to the great depth of the large veins in the vicinity of Pottsville, and for miles east and west from that point, and the consequent expense of opening mines, the larger coal operations are located in sections of the country where the coal is more easy of access. Mr. Gowen, however, appreciating the great value of a supply of coal, almost unlimited, at the head of the main line of the Reading Railroad, and being able to command the large capital required, directed the sinking of the shaft, which was successfully accomplished, under the direction of General Henry Pleasants, the able chief engineer of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company. This resulted in completely establishing the truth of the generally accepted theory of the coal formation in its application to the southern coal-field. The mining operations in connection with this shaft, when completed and in full operation, will give at least five thousand of an addi-

tional population to the neighborhood of Pottsville. Any motive for interfering in the advancement of this enterprise would appear to be wanton, and the destruction of the shaft building was therefore specially malicious. A reward of ten thousand dollars was offered for the conviction of the offender, with a guarantee on the part of the Coal and Iron Company to insure the personal safety of the "informer." This reward, so far as is publicly known, has been without effect, and the transaction itself, in the crowding and terrible incidents of the year, has almost passed from memory.

In the month of March scenes of lawlessness were not only of daily occurrence, but in many instances there were a number on the same day. Men were beaten and robbed by unknown parties, the repairsmen on the railroad were stopped from their work, train-hands were threatened, railroad-tracks obstructed and barricaded, engines and cars thrown off the track, cars unloaded, property stolen and destroyed, houses burned; mobs riotously assembled, took possession of engines and trains, displayed fire-arms, and drove men from their work.

The lawlessness displayed in March continued during the months of April and May; threats, notices, beatings, burnings of houses and breakers, mobs, railroad obstructions, and other outrages increased in number.

As can be readily imagined, during this period "McKenna," or McParlan, was fully occupied. He had during the month of January attended two conventions of the "Molly" organization as an officer, the first on the 4th and 5th of January, at Lafferty's Hall, Girardville, and the other on the 11th of January, at the Town Hall, Pottsville, and was becoming recognized throughout the order as a leader. Affecting to be in entire sympathy with, and ready for the commission of, any outrage, however horrible, he obtained a knowledge which he, with great tact and plau-

sibility in his way of reasoning, used in the prevention of contemplated crime.

When he found this impossible, he often occasioned delays, and by his early and frequent reports to Superintendent Franklin, at Philadelphia, enabled parties interested to be on their guard, and thereby, in numerous instances, saved individuals from murderous attacks and valuable property from destruction. The comparatively slow course of even a cipher telegraph was found inadequate. To confide his knowledge to the civil authorities would have inevitably, in a very short time, led his associates, who were ever morbidly suspicious and cunning, to a knowledge of his true position, and would not only have ended his sphere of usefulness, but would have cost him his life.

It was therefore determined by the Pinkerton Agency to give him a coadjutor, who was found in the person of R. J. Linden, the assistant superintendent of the Agency at Chicago. About the 1st of May, 1875, Mr. Linden appeared on the scene of action in the coal regions, where he has remained ever since, and has been, next to McParlan, one of the most effective instruments in breaking the power of the dreaded "Molly" and bringing the perpetrators of crime to justice.

Mr. Linden was born in Brooklyn, New York, in the year 1835, and is consequently now in his forty-first year. He is a ship-carpenter by trade, and has passed a life of travel and adventure. During the war he was on the South Atlantic squadron, engaged in his trade. Since the close of the war he has been connected with the Pinkerton Agency at Chicago.

Upon coming to the coal region his connection with the Agency was concealed. He was sworn into the Coal and Iron Police, and given the position of captain. He acted in conjunction with Marshal Heisler, who was known as a most efficient police-officer, honest, brave almost beyond

conception, thoroughly efficient in action, but with little or no power as a detective.

The appointment of Captain Linden was another evidence of the sagacity of the Agency in the selection of its men. Long-headed, sharp, and untiring, he yet possesses a sociability of manner and real warmth of heart that have rendered him extremely popular, even with the parties he has assisted in arresting and been so efficient in convicting.

Under instructions from Superintendent Franklin, McKenna now, in addition to making his usual reports, conferred with Captain Linden, who, in case of an emergency, had authority to act promptly and on his own responsibility. Frequent secret meetings between the two were necessary, which in their arrangement required skill and ingenuity. As outrages increased in number, still more frequent meetings were required, and, for the purpose of warding off suspicion, a system of making appointments was resorted to, in which Malachi Cleery was made the innocent agent.

To effect this was, however, attended not only with great inconvenience, but also with great danger. The meetings would take place sometimes in the bush, sometimes at Schuylkill Haven, sometimes even at Reading. The risk was run, every time they met, that the secret intercourse would be discovered, in which case the life of McParlan would have been the sure forfeit. Another plan of operations was adopted. A plan of open intercourse was arranged and successfully carried out. One evening, at Malachi Cleery's drinking-saloon in Shenandoah, a large number of Mollies being present, McKenna among the rest, Captain Linden walked in, and, going up to the bar, asked for a drink. McKenna was, as usual, talking loud and making himself conspicuous. Linden entered into conversation with one of the by-standers, of whom after a while he inquired, "Who is that fellow?"

The man hesitating in his reply, Linden continued, "His voice reminds me, although he don't look like him, of a fellow named Jim McKenna, whom I used to know."

"His name is Jim McKenna," was the answer.

Linden now stepped up to that portion of the bar where McParlan was standing, and said,—

"Ain't you Jim McKenna, and didn't you live at one time in Buffalo?"

"That's my name, and there's where I lived," answered McParlan, gruffly; "but I don't know you."

"Don't know me! Is it possible you don't remember Linden?"

McKenna instantly recovered his memory, affected great delight at renewing the acquaintance, and insisted on treating all round. Various reminiscences of by-gone times were recalled, and Linden, also seemingly gratified, stood the drinks in memory of other days. The captain took the opportunity of informing several parties in confidence that he knew McKenna well, and that he was "a bad lot;" that he had known him in Buffalo, where he worked on the elevator (which had no existence except in fancy); that he had been one of the best "shovers of the queer" in McCartney's gang, but that as he had once killed a man who was threatening his (Linden's) life, he did not want to arrest him. Besides this, he considered him a good fellow. This answered two good purposes: it indorsed McKenna in the description he had given of himself, and it accounted for a certain good-fellowship existing between the two, by means of which information could be given and received, and arrangements made in the midst of the crowd without detection or suspicion.

Cleery was not himself a "Molly," but was popular with the order, and was to some extent under their influence, his house being with them a favorite resort. It was McKenna's loafing-place. McKenna informed him confi-

dentially that he had a suspicion that Linden was after him, and that he did not want to meet him when he could avoid it. He therefore requested that should Cleery happen to see Linden when he was about, he should let him (McKenna) know, in order that he might hide himself. This occurred on several occasions. McKenna would retire, apparently frightened, to a side room. Captain Linden would saunter in, and in asking for a drink, or in some casual remark, by preconcerted system, inform the listener where and when a meeting should take place.

The lawlessness that existed during the period of the long strike of 1875 was not by any means confined to the "Molly Maguires," although in the actual perpetration of crime they were active in throwing the balls prepared by other hands.

The "Labor Union" as an organization did not countenance flagrant violations of law; there were not only too many good men connected with it who would have been shocked by the perpetration of crime, but their leaders were men of more than ordinary ability, capable of appreciating the force of moral power and the necessity of obtaining and retaining public sympathy. But the contest was a fierce one; the ambition to win was great, want and suffering in the absence of work had become common, and men who themselves would not be willing to do an unlawful or criminal act were perfectly willing to have it done, and in some instances to suggest indirectly, in others directly, its perpetration. As an illustration, in April, 1875, parties not connected with the "Molly" organization interviewed McKenna and others on the subject of burning one of the Catawissa bridges. McKenna was approached as a leading "Molly." It was suggested that as his organization was in the habit of doing such things, the burning of the bridge would advance the labor movement. It was urged that a large amount of coal for the Western

market was being transported over this bridge, and that its destruction would be a severe blow to the corporations. McKenna pretended to consider the proposition favorably, but said that it was necessary to have the matter brought before the society. In the mean time, the Pinkerton Agency was in full possession of the facts, through Captain Linden and Superintendent Franklin, and arrangements were made, in case there should be an attempt to carry out the scheme, to arrest the parties concerned while in commission of the act, McParlan, or McKenna, among the rest. The enterprise was, however, stopped. Before the time of the meeting, McKenna had a private talk with Frank McAndrew, then body-master of Shenandoah Division, and others. He suggested that the thing was a trick, and done with a view to have them arrested, and thereby get glory for the "Labor Union" and degrade the "Mollies." This was evident, he said, from the fact that, if the burning of the bridge was so important, they might do it themselves without calling upon them. This view of the subject aroused suspicion, and although, when the meeting was held, the first impulse of the majority, that of McKenna seemingly among the rest, was to do what was asked, the view he had suggested to McAndrew was advanced, and the scheme fell through.

In other instances the "Mollies" were made the instruments in the perpetration of wrongs which cooler heads had either hinted at, suggested, or advised; but in a number of cases violence and turbulence occurred in which they took but a secondary part. It needs no criminal organization to lead an inflamed and hungry people to scenes of riot during a long strike, and the "Molly" organization has far too many of its own undoubted sins to answer for without having placed upon it the misdeeds of others.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LONG STRIKE, CONTINUED—THE MAJOR MURDER—MAHANOY CITY CONVENTION.

DURING the month of May, 1875, the force of the "strike" was broken. The end was inevitable. The combination of railroad companies, great coal-mining companies, and individual coal operators was too powerful for the "Labor Union." The number of "blacklegs," or men outside of the "Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association," ready and willing to work, increased. The leaders in that association saw that under the circumstances their power was gone, and advised that the best terms possible be made by the miners at their respective collieries. Nevertheless, whilst under the severe pressure of want, and consequent loss of heart for further contest in a hopeless cause, the great majority were ready to commence work, the lawless few still retained the power, by means of threats, to excite fear and delay resumption.

To offset this the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company promised to secure protection for such parties as desired to go to work. On the strength of this promise several mines in the neighborhood of Shenandoah and Mahanoy City commenced operations, but not full-handed, on the 1st and 2d of June.

This excited deep indignation among the remaining malcontents. During the night and early in the morning of the 3d, the mob began to gather upon Glover's Hill, near Shenandoah, from Lost Creek, Colorado, Griscom's, and various other small mining towns, all the way to Locust Gap, to the number of about one thousand. The

outburst was not so hearty as the number would indicate, since very many who had no heart or soul for the enterprise had been forced into the ranks.

Glover's Hill is just opposite the West Shenandoah colliery, then in operation, and it was upon this colliery that it was intended the first demonstration should be made to compel the men to quit work. Preparations for protection were, however, made. Captain Linden, with a force of twenty-four of the Coal and Iron Police armed with Winchester rifles, was on hand early in the morning. About six o'clock some five hundred of the mob which had assembled on Glover's Hill moved over to the colliery, where they were met by Captain Linden, his force drawn up in line of battle. No engagement took place; the firm stand of a few determined men kept the whole crowd at bay; but for about six hours the mob was turbulent and threatening.

About twelve o'clock the rioters retreated, and joined the party on Glover's Hill. A line was then formed, and, preceded by a drum corps, they marched to Mahanoy City, some five miles distant, gathering force as they went along. At Mahanoy City they met the sheriff of Schuylkill County and his posse. The sheriff attempted to protect the working collieries. The excitement increased. Shots were fired on both sides, and several of the rioters injured. The sheriff was, however, compelled to retreat, leaving Mahanoy City in possession of the rioters. The lock up was broken open, and all work in that locality stopped for the day. The line was then again formed, and the mob left Mahanoy with the avowed intention of stopping the work at West Shenandoah. Loud threats of vengeance on the workmen at that colliery and the Coal and Iron Police were heard, but either fear of Captain Linden and his gallant little band, or better counsels, prevailed, and before they reached that point the mob was dispersing.

As might be expected, McKenna was in the midst of the rioters, taking notes of everything, but to all appearances as wild an Irishman as that crowd of wild men contained. On the afternoon of the same day the sheriff made his requisition for the military, which was promptly responded to by Governor Hartranft, and on the following day Colonel Caldwell's regiment (a coal-region organization) was sent to the Mahanoy Valley, where it remained several weeks, with headquarters in Mahanoy City.

The end was accomplished. Day after day, and week after week, work was started at different points, without disturbance, until very soon the coal regions presented their usual appearance of busy life.

But if at the end of the "strike" the "Labor Union" was paralyzed, the "Molly Maguire" was in full being. During the preceding months the opportunity for the commission of crime had been daily, and in its perpetration he had had the implied and sometimes expressed sympathy of large masses of people who, as a general rule, were his enemies. Crimes had been committed with impunity, and he had come to believe that as there was but small danger of punishment, little concealment was necessary.

It is not certain that at any period in the history of the "Molly Maguire" organization the commission of murder was regarded with any compunction, or that any value whatever was placed upon human life other than their own. Whether or not at any time there was any repugnance to the commission of murder or any other crime, it is certain that in this country, as in Ireland, neglect to comply with an unwarranted demand was always considered a sufficient reason for the sacrifice of life.

As an illustration: a few years ago, a boss at a colliery under the superintendence of a gentleman comparatively new in the region was warned, through a coffin notice, to leave. Rather than endanger his life, the boss gave up his

position, thereby throwing himself out of employment and losing all means of support. He was a good man, understood his business, was faithful to his employers, and in the discharge of his duty entirely just to the workmen employed. The superintendent, unused to such a method of conducting business, was shocked, especially as every workman he talked to professed to have no cause of complaint. Speaking to one of them of the wickedness of the proceeding and the injustice of the action, not only to the employer, but to the man himself, in so driving him out into the world, he was astounded at receiving the answer, "Sure and didn't the man have notice?"

In that was told the whole story. No account was made of the fact that no right of law, religion, or morality gave them any authority whatever over the property and persons of others, and yet loss of life was considered only the just forfeit of disobedience to their commands. If the notice was disregarded, the party notified was at fault, and no moral responsibility rested on those who accomplished his destruction.

This sentiment was widely spread, and the fact just stated has had its counterpart in many another incident almost identical.

In this instance the remark made a strong impression on the superintendent, a comparative stranger, a pure and good man, a Quaker by nature and education, taught that even for the punishment of the darkest of crimes it is error for the strong arm of the law to take human life.

But at the end of the "long strike" even the "coffin notice," although sometimes given, was not deemed essential. An utter disregard of all the rights of person and of property seemed to pervade the organization. Arson and murder were not only considered as not criminal, but as deeds worthy of high praise.

The Indian boasts of numerous scalps and of acts of

savage butchery, but the scalps he shows are those of his enemies, and his cruelty is against strangers to his blood and his tribe. The "Molly" commits his crimes against those with whom he has been in daily and apparently friendly intercourse, or against his employer, from whose injustice, if exercised, he is protected not only by just laws but also by the force of public sentiment. And yet the boast of the savage was not more exultant. In the "Molly," conscience appeared dead, and no ghosts of murdered victims arose to disturb the repose of an assassin superstitious by nature and education.

Strange to say, whilst this disregard was felt and exercised so far as the lives of others were concerned, among themselves there is a love of existence almost overstrained, death is regarded with unmixed horror, and retaliation, however just, occasions a loud but heart-felt wail of mourning. Their superstitions are intense and unreasonable. That with this intense appreciation of life they should so readily commit murder in revenge for a fancied wrong, a slight, or to gratify a mere whim, presents an inexplicable contrariety of character.

Before entering into a narration of stirring events occurring within a little over three months succeeding the "long strike" of 1875, a proper understanding of the subject requires some reference to the murder of George Major, the Chief Burgess of Mahanoy City, in the autumn of 1874.

Mahanoy City, containing a population of between six and seven thousand inhabitants, is also a town of recent growth. It is situate in the valley of the same name; is about twelve miles distant from Pottsville, lying a few miles to the east of Ashland, and southeast from Shenandoah. It was laid out about the year 1861, by the late Burd Patterson, Esq., so widely and favorably known not only as a pioneer in the coal region, but also as one efficient and active in the development of the iron manu-

facturing interests of the State. The country was then primeval forest, but the Broad Mountain and Mahanoy Railroad, of which he was an active projector, shortly afterwards built, and similar railroad enterprises following, have made it one of the wealthiest and most densely-populated sections of Pennsylvania. Near by is situated some of the most valuable land of the Girard estate, and of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company.

Mahanoy City, although several years older, has not attained the full growth of its neighbor Shenandoah, but, nevertheless, does not present as many features of an exclusively mining town. Manufacturing interests are more fully developed, and the influence of the miners and laborers is not so paramount. The "Labor Union" has not had so full a control; and resistance to "Molly Maguires" has, with a class of the population, degenerated into a bitter hostility against Irishmen. This feeling has been growing for some years past, and has been fostered by sharp political contests and the formation of rival fire-companies.

A party of the rougher element, inspired with this animosity to the Irish, received the nickname of "Modocs," and bitterness of feeling on both sides rendered the danger of a collision imminent.

During the evening of October 31, 1874, a peculiarly turbulent feeling manifested itself. A fire, about the centre of the town, in the early night brought both engine-companies to the ground, and a general fight soon began. Shots were exchanged, several persons were injured, and George Major, the Chief Burgess, received a wound which in a few hours occasioned his death. Daniel Dougherty, a young Irishman who was present at the fire, and who was himself wounded by a pistol-ball which lodged in his face, was arrested for the murder. An intense feeling was created. Dougherty steadfastly asserted his innocence. A

number of persons present at the time swore positively to his being the perpetrator. By reason of the excited state of public feeling, the court of Schuylkill County, upon application, sent the case to Lebanon County, where it was tried during the month of April, 1875.

Messrs. John. W. Ryon, Lin Bartholomew, and George Troutman, Esqs., of Schuylkill County, and Josiah Funk, of Lebanon, represented the Commonwealth, and Hon. F. W. Hughes, O. P. Bechtel, H. M. Darling, Esqs., of Schuylkill County, and Hon. John W. Killinger, of Lebanon, the defense. The case was hotly contested and very ably tried on both sides before his Honor Judge Henderson. The testimony as to the killing of Major by Dougherty was direct, positive, and unequivocal, not only from one, but from six witnesses, whilst proof as to his innocence, with the counter-assertion that Dougherty was shot by William Major, was equally overwhelming. Testimony was produced showing that, the morning after the shooting, an Irishman named John McCann appeared before one of the justices of the peace at Mahanoy City and asked for a warrant against George Major on the charge of assault and battery with attempt to kill, stating at the same time that he had shot Major, but that he was himself injured, and he wanted to be the first in getting out a warrant. Upon being informed that if George Major was not already dead he was dying, McCann left the office, and shortly afterwards the county.

Eleven witnesses swore to the fact that John McCann shot Major; but the credibility of the witnesses so testifying was attacked, and the position taken that the story was manufactured, and that McCann was a myth, a creation of the fancy.

Mr. Hughes, on the part of the defense, became fully satisfied that Dougherty was innocent of the offense charged, and also that he was not a "Molly Maguire." Upon the

first point, that is to say, relative to the innocence of Dougherty, subsequent testimony in other cases has proven the correctness of his conclusion; but it has also proven that Dougherty was at the time a member of the organization.

The ball lodged in the face of Dougherty had never, up to the time of the trial, been extracted. According to the theory of the defense, the ball had been fired from George Major's pistol by William Major, and to establish this fact was of great importance, as it would render the innocence of the prisoner manifest. The extraction of the ball was a painful and somewhat dangerous operation, but Dougherty, by the urgent advice of Mr. Hughes, submitted. During the time of the trial the operation was performed; the ball was extracted, and exhibited to the jury; it fitted George Major's pistol, thus establishing the theory of innocence, and Dougherty was triumphantly acquitted.

McKenna, immediately after the killing of Major, had investigated the matter. He met John McCann within two days afterwards, who told him the whole story and acknowledged himself to be the guilty party. The movements of McCann (who instead of being a myth was a turbulent, brawling fellow, and well known) were watched by McKenna for some months. No action could, however, be taken on his part; the prosecution had got on the wrong course, and the aid that could have been secretly rendered to convict McCann was not available. On the other hand, he was fully aware of the evidence of Dougherty's innocence, and was much surprised to learn of the direct and positive testimony produced on the trial tending to establish his guilt. It was very important at this time that McKenna should not be known, but, if other means had failed, doubtless the Pinkerton Agency would have prevented in some way the execution of Dougherty. Dougherty, although a "Molly Maguire," was considered a young man

of good character, and up to the time of his arrest had never been admitted into full communion relative to the commission of crime. He was being educated. Notwithstanding his acquittal, his innocence was questioned by a large portion of the community, and by the "Modocs" wholly denied.

Threats of vengeance against him were freely uttered, but, being a man of nerve and relying on the "Molly" power, he determined to maintain his residence in his old home near Mahanoy City. The bitterness of feeling prevailing was intensified not only by the acquittal of Dougherty, but also by the numerous outrages committed during the "long strike." On several occasions, when Dougherty ventured out in the evening, shots were fired at him, in one instance the balls passing through his clothing; his escape was miraculous.

This was during the month of May, 1875. The defiant and aggressive position maintained by the "Modocs" of Mahanoy City exasperated the "Mollies." The order was exceptionally powerful in that section of country, and it was felt by them that a startling movement, sufficient to inspire boundless terror, was necessary to retain undisputed sway.

Complaint of "Modoc" defiance was made to John Kehoe, the County Delegate of Schuylkill. As he has himself stated, the idea that suggested itself to his mind was to assemble the entire "Molly" organization under his direction, with them to proceed armed to Mahanoy City, and then to shoot down those recognized as "Modocs" in broad daylight, in the open streets. With this plan in view, he visited Mahanoy City (his residence being in Girardville, where he kept a drinking-saloon) and consulted Dougherty, as the party in the greatest danger. Dougherty, however, expressed the opinion that if William M. Thomas, known as "Bully Bill," and William and Jesse Major, the brothers

of the murdered George Major, were killed, he would be safe and matters would become quiet.

On the 26th of May, 1875, McKenna visited John Kehoe at his saloon in Girardville. In the course of conversation the situation of affairs in Mahanoy City was discussed. Kehoe stated what his original idea had been as to making a combined attack, and the conclusion he had arrived at to call a meeting at Michael Clark's, in Mahanoy City, on the 1st of June, to consider the subject. As the matter might assume such a form that aid outside of the county would be required, he had sent Thomas Donahue (acquitted in Columbia County of the murder of Alexander Rae) to Locust Gap, to request the presence of Dennis F. Canning, County Delegate of Northumberland, at the meeting.

As a matter of course, McKenna manifested great interest in the subject, and promised to go over to Mahanoy City to examine into the situation of affairs for himself; which the second day afterwards he did. He there met Michael O'Brien, whose views were not in exact accordance with Kehoe's. O'Brien's plan was to get about six good men, strangers in Mahanoy City, armed with navy revolvers, who, under guidance which he would furnish, could shoot in one night all the persons that might be determined upon. The escape of the parties committing the act, he thought, would be easy. This interview McKenna reported to Kehoe the same day, in the presence of John Regan, of St. Clair.

Discussion arose as to the selection of proper parties to commit whatever act should be determined upon. Kehoe desired to know the condition of the Shenandoah and St. Clair Divisions as regarded men "good on the shoot." McKenna replied that the Shenandoah men were young and inexperienced in the business, and would hardly suit. Regan thought he had one good man, named Clark. Both

McKenna and Regan were invited to attend the coming meeting, to be held on the 1st of June, and McKenna received further instructions to notify Michael O'Brien the next day.

At the time appointed, the meeting was held in a second-story room of Michael Clark's hotel, Mahanoy City. The meeting was opened with prayer, and organized by John Kehoe, County Delegate of Schuylkill. There were present, Dennis F. Canning, County Delegate of Northumberland, Michael O'Brien, Body-master of Mahanoy City, John Donahue, Body-master of Tuscarora, James Roarity, Body-master of Coaldale, Christopher Donnelly, County Treasurer, William Gavin, County Secretary, Frank McHugh, Secretary of Mahanoy City Division, and James McKenna, or McParlan, Secretary of Shenandoah Division.

In opening the meeting, Kehoe described the condition of affairs in Mahanoy City, the aggressive disposition of the "Modocs," and the attempted assassination of Daniel Dougherty.

The presence of Frank McHugh, who was a nineteen-year-old boy, was objected to by Chris. Donnelly, but at the request of Michael O'Brien, his body-master, he was allowed to remain and act as secretary of the meeting. McHugh then went out for paper, and, on his return, made fictitious notes of the proceedings of the meeting. This was done for the purpose of being prepared with a plausible account of the object of the meeting, should it ever be called in question.

Upon motion, it was then agreed that Dougherty should be sent for. Dougherty appeared, showed his coat bullet-ridden, and stated that he believed that it was Jesse Major who had shot him, and that he had come to the conclusion that the Majors were determined to kill him. He thought that if they and "Bully Bill" (William M. Thomas) were put out of the way, he might then have peace.

Dougherty was then requested to retire; and the business of the meeting was now conducted in a conversational way.

Christopher Donnelly, the county treasurer, stated, in regard to the killing of the Majors, that he would furnish two men and go himself. In reply to this, John Donahue (Yellow Jack) remarked that the Majors, together with a man named Ferrel, were at work near Tuscarora, mining coal, and that it would be very easy to get them; nevertheless, he desired that Donnelly would not move in the matter until the following Sunday, when he would send a man to Pottsville to meet him and let him know how to act. To this Donnelly agreed.

The question relative to the Majors was now considered settled, and both Donnelly and Donahue said that as they would take care of their side of the mountain, Roarity, O'Brien, and McKenna should look after theirs, and dispose of "Bully Bill." Kehoe agreed that this was right, saying that the duty devolved on the three last named to dispose of Thomas. He suggested that the best plan was to get a couple of men well armed, who should go right up to him on the street and shoot him down by daylight, or at any time they could get him. To this course O'Brien objected; he suggested that some men should be provided, for whom he would get a boarding-house, and that they should lie in wait upon the railroad between Mahanoy City and Shoemaker Patch, where Thomas lived; the expenses to be paid out of the county funds of the society. This plan was indorsed by Dennis F. Canning, the County Delegate of Northumberland, and was agreed upon. Canning then desired to know if any men were required from him; if so, he could furnish them. Donnelly replied that, as the job was but a light one, there was no necessity of troubling him. Kehoe also stated that in carrying out the plan adopted there need be no call upon Canning.

McKenna, as secretary of the Shenandoah Division, in the absence of the body-master, and Roarity, the body-master of Coaldale, were instructed to call meetings of their respective divisions, to notify them what had been done at this meeting, and to see what action they would take.

Kehoe, on his part, further said that he would send a man named McDonald, alias the Hairy Man, living near Pottsville. McDonald, he claimed, was a good man for a "clean job."*

No further business being before the meeting, an adjournment was moved and carried, and the party proceeded to take their dinner at the tavern where the meeting was held. Other matters were discussed socially.

CHAPTER XIII.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF WILLIAM M. THOMAS.

THE participation of James Roarity,† the body-master of the Coaldale Division, in the contemplated assassination of "Bully Bill" (Wm. M. Thomas) stopped at this point. He became further involved, however, in the conspiracy to assassinate the two Majors, and during the month of June was active in arranging the details of other crimes of like nature, hereinafter explained.

It will be borne in mind that at the time John Kehoe

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* McParlan defines a "clean job" as signifying the shooting of a man, or the beating of him well, or the burning down of a place, or any other outrage. If a man was sent to do a job of that kind, and did it according to instructions and got off, it would, in every sense of the term, be "a clean job."

† Convicted of the murder of policeman Benjamin F. Yost, of Tamaqua.

called a committee together to consider the question of the Mahanoy "Modocs," the "long strike" had drawn to a close, and work had started under the arrangement made by the Coal Exchange for the protection of the workmen. As a consequence, the first steps taken to prepare for the murders determined upon were during a period of great excitement, and at a time when the last efforts of the malcontents of the "Labor Union" were being made. This prevented any meeting of the Shenandoah Division before the evening of the 4th of June, and enabled McKenna to give to the Detective Agency full reports relative to the convention held at Mahanoy City. He was also enabled to confer with his coadjutor, Captain Linden; but the threatening dangers, and the riot which occurred on the 3d of June, occupied the full attention of the whole available police force. McKenna was therefore, to a great extent, thrown on his own resources. He was required not only to prevent, if possible, the contemplated murder, but also at the same time to maintain and even still further advance his position as a leading member of the order.

The fact that Kehoe intended to call a committee meeting at Mahanoy City to consider the position of affairs there, and that the murder of the Majors and "Bully Bill" would probably be determined upon, was no secret among the "Mollies" throughout Schuylkill County. The subject had been generally discussed for some time before the meeting was held. When, therefore, McKenna, on his return to Shenandoah, acting in place of Frank McAndrew, the body-master, called his division together, without further explanation the object in making the call was readily understood. The policy determined upon at Mahanoy City had, however, been explained to Monaghan, Gibbons, and Hurley. The meeting of the division was held on the evening of the 4th of June (the day after the "Labor Union" riot), in the bush on the Ringtown Mountain,

north of Shenandoah. The members present were Edward Monaghan, constable of the borough of Shenandoah, John Gibbons,* Thomas Hurley,† Michael Doyle, Thomas Munley,‡ Michael Durcey, Patrick Garvey, and James McParlan, alias McKenna. The purpose for which the meeting was called was discussed at once, Garvey remarking, "I suppose yez all know the object of the meeting?" to which there was a general assent.

Gibbons, Doyle, and Hurley, all very young men, volunteered to "do the work," but insisted on McKenna being one of the party, to which he without objection consented. The next evening (Saturday) was fixed upon as the time for the murder. It was expected that "Bully Bill" would be in Mahanoy City at that time, as usual, on a spree. The place of rendezvous was fixed at Michael Clark's tavern, where the committee had met three days before. The parties met at Mahanoy City according to this appointment. Frank McHugh and Michael O'Brien came into the tavern shortly after their arrival.

McKenna had matured his plan of action. He took O'Brien out of the house, and walked with him down the street. He suggested to him that it would be a very foolish thing to shoot Thomas that night, that the military was in the town, that soldiers were patrolling the railroads and guarding the coal-breakers. He remarked that Thomas could not be shot without making a noise, which would inevitably lead to capture, and, said he, "one of our lives is worth a hundred such as 'Bully Bill's.'" O'Brien regarded the arguments as very forcible; indeed, so ingeniously did McKenna play upon him, that he almost came to the conclusion that the points had been suggested by himself.

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* Convicted of assault and battery with intent to kill Wm. M. Thomas ("Bully Bill").

† Fugitive from justice.

‡ Convicted of the murder of Thomas Sanger.

On their return to the tavern, O'Brien called the party together, and in an earnest way, using the arguments by which he had himself just been affected, advised that the enterprise be given up for the time, and that they return to their homes. O'Brien was body-master of the Mahanoy Division, had arrived at mature years, and the enterprise was under his peculiar direction; as a consequence the young men were readily convinced, and, with a promise of their being notified when a favorable opportunity should present itself, started on their return to Shenandoah.

McKenna at this time was not only making frequent reports to Superintendent Franklin, but was also in constant communication with Captain Linden, endeavoring, so far as his information enabled him, to frustrate the perpetration of the numerous crimes then contemplated.

The heroic aspect of the case, from the "Molly" standpoint, had now fully taken possession of the minds of young Hurley and Doyle, and they were determined to carry the enterprise through. On the 10th of June, Gibbons being present, they called on McKenna at Shenandoah, and told him that they were on the road to Mahanoy City, where they hoped to see Thomas. They asked him to go along. The proposal was sudden; he had no opportunity to report; but, relying on the fact that they would first have to meet O'Brien and arrange matters, he made some trivial excuse and declined. On the 11th he succeeded in making his arrangements to follow them, and on the 12th he did so, taking Gibbons along with him. He found Hurley and Doyle boarding with a Mrs. McDonnell, with whom O'Brien had placed them. They reported that they had not, as yet, succeeded in meeting Thomas, but as their board was paid, and as they had no work, they would wait. McKenna tried to convince them that this was useless; but O'Brien sustained them in their determination, saying that he had no doubt they would be all right in a short time.

McKenna and Gibbons then left Mahanoy City. They drove to Mahanoy Plane, where they met William Callahan, the body-master of that division. Gibbons wanted to know from him why he had not sent some men over to Mahanoy City to shoot some of the "Modocs."

Callahan replied that some weeks previously he had lent two navy revolvers to "Friday" (James) O'Donnell for the purpose of killing Dr. Bissell and some other of the "Modocs," but that nothing had been done yet.

McKenna and Gibbons then proceeded to Girardville, where they called on John Kehoe, who seemed well satisfied that the matter was moving right.

As might have been expected, the result of Hurley and Doyle's visit to Mahanoy City was an utter failure, so far as the main purpose was concerned. Thomas was never found in an exposed condition. On the 15th of June they returned to Shenandoah, bringing Patrick Clark with them to call on McKenna. They were still anxious to effect the murder of Thomas, and, contrary to the advice of McKenna, but urged on by Gibbons, who lent them a shot-gun, which he said he had loaded enough to blow "Bully Bill's" head off, they started out, hoping to succeed in their purpose by watching along the railroad. They were again unsuccessful.

On the 23d of June, Michael O'Brien, in company with a man named John McDonald, came to Shenandoah to see McKenna, who was sick at his boarding-house. Doyle was there at the time, and asked if they should then go over and shoot Thomas. O'Brien replied that this was a good opportunity; that he was working at the same colliery with him; that Thomas was on the day-shift, and generally came out of the mines about two o'clock in the afternoon. This fact was borne in mind, but arrangements could not be made to start at once. McKenna excused himself, and the others, although willing to go, consented to defer the job still further.

On the 24th of June, Frank McAndrew, the body-master of the Shenandoah Division, who had just returned from Luzerne County, together with McKenna, met John Kehoe. The conversation turned on the Mahanoy City matter. McKenna stated that O'Brien had been over to get men; that he could not himself go, on account of the condition of his health, but that Doyle was ready. This was considered, so far as concerned McKenna, a valid excuse for not having gone; but Kehoe then instructed McAndrew that when he appointed men to do anything and they did not do it, he should expel them from the order at once; that McAndrew should attend to this business.*

On Sunday, the 27th of June, Thomas Hurley, John Morris, Frank McAndrew, and Michael Doyle were at McKenna's boarding-house. McAndrew asked if Morris, Hurley, and Doyle were going over to Mahanoy City. They replied that they were. McAndrew then sent Carey after Gibbons. The two shortly afterwards returning together, McAndrew said, "These men here, Morris, Doyle, and Hurley, are going to Mahanoy to shoot Thomas in the morning as he is going out to work, and they want to know if you are going along." Gibbons replied that he was.

Carey volunteered to work in Doyle's place during his absence, and it was arranged that a man named Daniel Sweeny should work for Morris. It was agreed that the parties doing "the job" should each receive a day's wages out of the society treasury.

On account both of his sickness and of the rapidity of the movement, McKenna was unable to give warning in time and thus secure their arrest whilst in the commission of the crime. The party started at once for Mahanoy City,

* An expulsion under such circumstances not only destroyed the social standing of the expelled member among his associates, but also placed his life and property in constant danger.

at which place they met O'Brien, who took them to a boarding-house, where they remained during the night, but left early in the morning for Shoemaker's Patch, where Thomas lived. Thomas came out of his house about half-past six o'clock in the morning, and went to the colliery stable. There he remained, talking to the stable-boss and some teamsters. During this time Hurley, Gibbons, Doyle, and Morris were sitting at the mouth of the drift, waiting for Thomas to appear. Becoming impatient at his not coming, they all proceeded to the stable where he was, and commenced firing at him through the door. One shot hit him in the breast, another in the hand, and two in the neck. He either fell or threw himself among the horses, where, covered with blood, the would-be assassins left him, thinking that he was dead. Fortunately, however, his wounds were not fatal, and his recovery was rapid.

The perpetrators of the crime sought safety in flight. They left at once for Shenandoah, where they met McKenna and told him of all they had done.

Gibbons shortly afterwards left the county. John Kehoe gave him a dollar and a half; Thomas Donahue gave him two dollars, and took him to the railroad-station at Rupert.*

No arrests were made of parties engaged in this outrage until nearly a year had elapsed. It was being buried in the mists of the past, and only remembered as one of the long list of "Molly" outrages for which there seemed to be no redress or punishment.

"Bully Bill," in the attack made upon him which has just been described, had barely escaped with his life. For some reason he was specially obnoxious, and his murder was still earnestly desired. On the evening of the 15th of

* Gibbons has since been convicted of "assault and battery with intent to kill" William M. Thomas.

July following, as he was getting on the train at the depot of the Lehigh Valley Railroad at Mahanoy City, another attempt was made to kill him. He was fired at by a party of strangers, but fortunately the shots did not take effect, either upon him or upon any of the by-standers.

Whilst it is a subject of congratulation that William M. Thomas was not killed, his escape renders but deeper the regret that the like good fortune had not befallen the many other victims of "Molly" outrages; that men like Henry Dunne and Alexander Rae, with high social gifts and intellectual powers, should have been stricken down in careers of usefulness; that George K. Smith, dreaming of wrong to no man, should have been shot down on his own hearthstone like a dog; that Littlehales, and Muir, and Morgan Powell, acting in the full discharge of their duty, and against whom there was no word of just reproach, should, in the pride of their manhood and their strength, have fallen victims to the bullet of the assassin; that many another honest and true man, whose murder remains unavenged, should have incurred the hatred of the "Mollies" and fallen a victim to their wrath. William M. Thomas escaped; his friends rejoiced, and the hundreds of fiends who knew that his assassination had been planned, with Jack Kehoe at their head, mourned the failure of a "clean job."

The preliminary movements attending this attempt at murder have been given somewhat in detail, as they clearly illustrate the character of the organization,—the utter want of moral perception on the part of its members. Jack Kehoe opened the Mahanoy City meeting of the 1st of June with prayer. First prayer, and then murder! Was this hypocrisy? Was it blasphemy? Or was it an open defiance of a great Creator, whose edict, delivered amidst clouds and thunders and fires on the top of Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill," has been recognized in all ages

and in all climes, in lands enlightened and in nations barbarous, by the meek and lowly Christian and by the veriest unbeliever who says in his heart, "There is no God"? No! bad as is this terrible organization,—and it has no parallel in the recorded annals of the world,—the answer still is, No! It was simply an utter want of moral perception. The ordinary rules of conduct by which mankind in general are influenced seem to have had with these men no application. The answer of the Delphic oracle, "Know thyself," for thousands of years has governed the student of human nature, but it is to be hoped it offers no key to "Molly" impulses or "Molly" crimes.

The terrible object of the meeting just referred to was known and indorsed by very many members of the society. Jack Kehoe had no fear of shocking the moral sense of the organization when he proposed to summon all his cohorts in Schuylkill County to drench the streets of Mahanoy City in blood. Neither did Dennis Canning see aught in the conduct of the meeting or in the object proposed but what was proper and right; he cordially offered the assistance of old Northumberland; but the work was light: only three men were to be killed; a city of neighbors should for the time remain exempt from general slaughter.

Roarity and Donnelly and Yellow Jack Donahue expressed their sympathy, and promised the active aid of their respective sections. McKenna, as directed, called a meeting of his division, and volunteers, active and earnest as if for a gallant and noble enterprise, sprang forward, thirsting for the privilege of committing a cold, a brutal, and a bloody murder. How quickly McAndrew indorsed and furthered the work! How gracefully William Callahan excused himself for not killing a few men, under the plea that he had lent his pistols to others to do the deed, which he regretted had not yet been accomplished! With the stray guest at a tavern or the casual visitor to a sick friend,

at home or abroad, the matter was discussed with all the carelessness and freedom of the most ordinary every-day occurrence, provided such discussion was within the limits of a society holding as its motto "Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity." Nor was there any particular caution exercised in such intercourse: they held a community bound with a chain of terror, and wide-spread knowledge of criminal acts did not present any danger of information or punishment.

Courted by the politician, dreaded and feared by the community, and denounced by their church, they sought to cheat their God. Cognizant of, and participants in, crimes of the deepest dye, many of them for the time being would not take the "goods" or "benefits," and under that shallow plea would deny their connection with the order. The communion-table might thus be reached, the priest deceived, and the solemn confession rendered. But all would be of no avail: the foul wrong was bare in the eyes of Him who is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent.

In the attempted murder of Thomas, as in most other outrages, the scheme was devised by the older, the cooler, the wickeder, and the more cautious heads, whilst the actual perpetration of the crime was committed to mere boys, or those who in the early years of manhood had been imbued with perverted ideas of heroic action. As a necessity, those of more mature years were often compelled to act as guides, but they sought not the "glory" of the act itself.

John Kehoe, the County Delegate, is about forty-five years of age; O'Brien and Donnelly are in the same decade, but the first is older than Kehoe, and the second younger. Canning, Garvey, and Roarity are each about thirty, Yellow Jack Donahue about fifty-five. These were among the wiser heads controlling and directing. Thomas Hurley, John Gibbons, Michael Doyle, and John Morris,

who were the active perpetrators of the crime, at the time were of ages varying from nineteen to twenty-three. Frank McHugh, who acted as secretary of the meeting at which the killing was determined upon, was nineteen years old.

If fancy should picture these men as dark-browed ruffians and ill-looking scoundrels, fancy would be, as it oftentimes is, mistaken. The great majority of them present no appearance of murderers or assassins; on the contrary, several of them are handsome, have pleasing, attractive features, and many men with more of the look of criminals are held in universal esteem. They are, in fact, men who, not naturally bad, might well, had their lives received a different bent, have been good citizens and honest men. Yellow Jack Donahue and Donnelly are notable exceptions: they look their character.

Jack Kehoe is a large, well-built, handsome man, but with a cold, cruel eye. This, perhaps, would only be observed by those possessing a knowledge of his character. Neither O'Brien nor Canning presents anything in his looks to indicate his character, the appearance of both men being ordinary. Roarity has a countenance that grows worse upon acquaintance: this may be accounted for by the fact that in the face of the most damning evidence of guilt he shows a feeling partaking of perfect indifference. Hurley, Gibbons, Doyle, and Morris look like young Irish boys, but, with the exception of Hurley, give no outward indications of vice. The last-named is a bad fellow, was badly reared, is a liar and a thief, false to those whom he regards as his friends as well as to his foes. He has not a single good instinct; and his character is, to a certain extent, marked in his face.

Doyle is quite small, scarcely over five feet in height; he has been kicked from pillar to post all his life, is a bad fellow, but has kindly traits of character. It is possible that under different circumstances and better training his

evil nature might have been restrained. He is now a fugitive from justice, aided in his escape by national officers of the Ancient Order of Hibernians with society funds.

Gibbons and Morris are of good families, and respectably nurtured. They have not shown, except by their connection with the "Molly Maguires," any natural predilection for crime; they seem to have been wholly moved by what to them appeared the heroic aspect of the case, and sought to win the meed of praise and honor from their fellows.

Young Frank McHugh has received careful Christian education. He was induced to join the order, and received the patronage and training of Mike O'Brien. He some time since severed his connection with it, and may, and it is trusted will, break the force of the bad influences by which he was for a short time surrounded and controlled, and become a good and respected member of society.

CHAPTER XIV.

MEETING IN THE BUSH—THE MAJORS—JOHN J. SLATTERY.

It will be remembered that at the meeting called by John Kehoe at Mahanoy City, on the 1st of June, John or Yellow Jack Donahue, of Tuscarora (a small town about four miles west of Tamaqua, on the Schuylkill Valley branch of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad), and Chris. Donnelly were appointed to compass the assassination of William and Jesse Major. Donnelly, the County Treasurer of the order, resided at New Castle, a small town about four miles from Pottsville and about fourteen miles from Tuscarora. James Roarity, the body-master of Coaldale, was at a point some four or five miles east of Tamaqua.

Yellow Jack Donahue, who will be remembered as the

murderer of Morgan Powell at Summit Hill, and as one of the worst, if not the very worst, of the many hardened villains who have infested the coal regions, immediately assumed the leadership. He requested, at the time of the Mahanoy meeting, that Donnelly should furnish him two men, but that they should not forward any until he should hear from him, which, he said, would be on the following Sunday.

Donahue shortly afterwards requested Roarity to send the men. Immediate compliance with this request was promised. Roarity was as good as his word. He came over to Tamaqua, bringing the two men with him to commit the assassination. They stopped at the Union House, the "Molly" headquarters at that place, kept by James Carroll. Upon their arrival Carroll handed Roarity a dispatch or letter from Donahue telling him not to go to Tuscarora at that time, and not until he was again sent for. Roarity returned to Coaldale, and, not receiving further message on the subject, dropped the matter.

There is some confusion here as to dates. Yellow Jack Donahue called a meeting of the Tuscarora Division on Sunday, either the 6th or the 13th of June. The arrangements with Chris. Donnelly, of Mount Laffee, at the time of the meeting had already been made and two men named. Jerry Kane and a man named Stanton were to be forwarded, and actually did put in an appearance ready for the work. James Kerrigan, the body-master of Tamaqua, who has since obtained wide-spread notoriety as an "informer," was present by special invitation. The meeting was held in the bush, on Little Mountain, near Tuscarora.

Early on the Sunday afternoon a party, among whom were John Donahue, Jimmy Kerrigan, Michael Doolan, and Michael Somers, practiced shooting at a mark with a Springfield rifle belonging to Charles Mulhearn. Kerrigan was the best shot, and it was determined that he should use the

rifle. Doolan offered the services of a shot-gun which he owned. A party of men, seemingly fully aware of what was going on, sat near by, playing cards.

After this matter was settled, the meeting was called to order at a point some little distance from where the party had been shooting at a mark. There were present Yellow Jack Donahue, James Kerrigan, Michael Somers, Michael Doolan, Charles Mulhearn, John Slattery, Matthew Donahue, John Malay, John Coleman, Pat Smith, Joseph Ryon, and perhaps others. As was the invariable custom, the meeting was opened in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the Holy St. Patrick of Ireland, each person present making the sign of the cross. Yellow Jack Donahue officiated.

Donahue is about fifty-five years old, of medium height, black hair and eyes, regular features, and muscular frame, and yet there is that about him which is intensely repulsive. He looks the villain that he is,—a fiend in human form,—dark, cold, bloody, relentless, without a feeling of love for his kind, a spark of pity for his victim, a care or regret for his crimes, or fear or dread of God or devil.

Yellow Jack then stated that at a meeting called by Jack Kehoe at Mahanoy City it had been determined to kill the two Majors, then working at Middleport (four miles distant), and Bully Bill; that Donnelly, the County Treasurer, and himself had taken the Majors in hand; that Donnelly was ready with two men, and that Jimmy Kerrigan was willing to assist. Who would volunteer?

There was a pause. Donahue continued, "Are you a lot of old women? Jack Kehoe ought to take your charter away."

Charles Mulhearn, one of the older and more hardened villains, laughed, and, prompted by a feeling of dislike to John Slattery, with whom he was on bad terms, said, "If I were not at present lame I would go. Let John Slattery be selected."

Slattery is over fifty years of age. He had enjoyed a good character for many years, when in the spring of 1872, weakly yielding to importunity, he joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians, persuading himself, against not only his better judgment but also his actual knowledge, that there was nothing wrong in the order. He had acquired in the neighborhood of twenty thousand dollars, and had in the fall of 1871 been the Democratic candidate for Associate Judge, but was defeated by Judge Seitzinger, running on the Independent judiciary ticket. His fall had been rapid. He had yielded to temptation. The means of revenge offered by the society proved too much for him, and he was the willing confederate, if not an active participant in their crime, of those who burned the store and dwelling-house of a man named O'Hara, his personal enemy.

He had groaned in spirit under the net-work of crime weaving around him; and, being not only not naturally bad, but possessed even of many good and amiable traits of character, he was suspected, and subjected to annoyance. He had attended the meeting under the influence of fear of his associates, and the proposition for him to volunteer to commit murder, thrown at him in sheer malice, shocked him. The idea of committing murder, in his own person and with his own hand, he had never dreamed of, but he understood the character of his confederates, and he dared not absolutely refuse.

"I cannot go," said he, "but I will give five dollars to a man to take my place."

"I will go," volunteered Michael Doolan, a young and very handsome Irishman.

"And I," said Matthew Donahue.

Yellow Jack grinned approvingly; his division was emerging, in his opinion, from the disgrace in which a momentary hesitation had placed it. He announced that he, too, would be of the party.

It was then determined that if possible the murder should be committed on Tuesday morning following; that Michael Somers should watch the movements of the Majors and report, and that if everything proved favorable the party should take its position Monday night in a grave-yard near Middleport. Kerrigan should in the mean time return to Tamaqua, to be recalled by a telegraph from Yellow Jack when all was ready.

For two days Somers reported that the Majors did not go to work as usual. On Tuesday, however, Yellow Jack became impatient, and determined to run the chances of meeting them. He therefore telegraphed to Carroll at Tamaqua:

"TUSCARORA, June 15, 1875.

"Don't send the boy over to-night.

"JOHN DONAHUE."

This meant that Kerrigan should start at once.

Jimmy had, however, been at work during the day, felt tired, and concluded he would not go.

If it were not for the fact that with these men human life is held so cheap, their conduct would be utterly incomprehensible. With alacrity they consent to engage in the murder of a stranger, against whom they have no feeling and whose person is unknown. They will gloat over the death-agonies of such a one, and in fiendish glee tell of the last mortal cry of the poor, dying victim;* they will destroy the God-given gift of human life, and then mangle the cold, senseless corse; and yet a whim, a freak of fancy, a momentary dislike for exertion, would have sufficed to make them refuse to join the enterprise. It was thus with Jimmy Kerrigan: it was not the aroused influence of a

* Several of the murderers have declared in effect that the pleasure of a murder was almost gone if the victim did not, as they termed it, "squeal."

hitherto dormant conscience; it was no sudden pity for men condemned to a horrible death, whom he did not know and against whom he had no complaint; it was no good or virtuous feeling, nor even the semblance of a good impulse, that actuated him in his refusal to go that night: he had been at work that day, and he didn't feel like it,—that was all.

The Majors had warning; they did not go to work when expected, and the arrangements for their murder for the time being fell through. It was not, however, given up. Mike Doolan came to Slattery and insisted upon borrowing his pistol, and Slattery loaned it; unwillingly, it is true, but loaned it,—knowing full well the hellish work designed.

Their efforts, however, met with no success; the Majors displayed such a degree of caution as to lead to the conclusion that they had been warned, and suspicion fell on Slattery that the warning had come from him.

Slattery was a school-director, and, it is but justice to him to state, active and earnest in the discharge of his duties. He is a man of considerable intelligence, and married to a good wife, the daughter of the Widow Kelly, for many years favorably known as the mistress of a hotel in New Philadelphia.

The widow was a woman of influence. She controlled Blythe Township politics, but her reign was an honest one. She had her opinions and her prejudices, but she repudiated mercenary and corrupt action. Her life was pure, her influence over the many wild men with whom she came in contact was for good, and she reared her family well. Slattery in a great degree owes it to his wife that he has not fallen lower than he has. His connection with the "Mollies" was to her a never-ending source of sorrow; but the toils were around him, and the terrorism that prevailed prevented any open revolt against the order on his part.

Samuel Major, an uncle of the murdered George Major, and of the two brothers intended to be assassinated, was a school-teacher at Tuscarora. After the trial of Dougherty, the school board, under "Molly" influence, turned vindictively on Major. Slattery sustained him, contending that he was a capable teacher; but his efforts only had the effect of injuring himself by still further increasing the suspicion which was rife in the minds of the "Mollies" against him.

Samuel Major himself confirmed this suspicion by informing Kerrigan that he had been told by Slattery that the Irish were opposed to him. This assertion confirmed Donahue and others in the idea that Slattery had informed the Majors, through their uncle, of their danger.

A meeting of the order was called by Yellow Jack. Slattery was notified to attend. Jimmy Kerrigan was his accuser; the charge being of his intimate relation with Samuel Major, as developed in the assertion made to him by Slattery relative to the feelings of the Irish people. The charge was sustained, and Slattery was expelled from the Tuscarora Division. An expulsion of this kind meant death,—death at the hand of the assassin, sudden and unwarned, as he well knew,—and, willing and anxious as both his wife and himself were that his connection with the order should be severed, he did not dare to let this feeling appear. He appealed to the general convention of the order, and his case, together with others that came before that body on the following 25th of August, will be considered in another place.

Slattery's life was now one of constant terror. It was true, although he strenuously denied it, that the Majors had received warning of their danger through him. He had not spoken to Samuel Major himself, but had to his wife, giving words of warning which, quickly reported to the nephews, put them on their guard, and saved their lives. Conscious of the truth of the charges made against him,

and feeling that through his connection with the order he had done much wrong, and would still continue in wrong-doing, he was reduced almost to utter despair; he knew not which way to turn.

He learned from Charles Mulhearn, who, notwithstanding their quarrel, still had some feeling for him, that his life was in danger, that Michael Doolan and Yellow Jack intended to compass his assassination. He was afraid personally even to close the shutters of his dwelling. He learned, through a man named Cafferty, of an intention to burn down all his property, and he knew not the moment when property and life might be the forfeit. His anxiety for reinstatement was therefore intense.

John Slattery, by reason of his connection with this terrible organization, has done some very criminal things. Still, he is not naturally a bad man. For many years he won by a blameless life the respect of all who knew him. Once a member of this organization, his downfall was rapid. He yielded to temptation, became cognizant of fearful violations of the law, and was the intimate associate of ruffians. His better nature urged him to break loose, but the immense power of the organization, its apparent immunity from punishment, the individual power he could by its means control, the danger of opposing it, all influenced him to drift along from evil thoughts to evil deeds, until the result was his ruin.

His story is told briefly by himself in a few sad words in a casual conversation.

"I lived," said he, "twenty-eight years in Schuylkill County, respected by all who knew me. In all parts of that county are men, known as among our first citizens, who for that period will indorse my conduct; but" (and as he said it a tear rolled down his cheek) "I joined this order thinking it was good; its constitution and its by-laws, which they showed me, seemed to prove it. I found it

diabolical, but for my life I dared not leave it, yet in it I lived in constant terror. I had acquired property, and the 'Mollies' have it. I had a good character, and it is gone, and the strong walls of the jail only give me safety. If I ever get out, my wife, who is now my earnest adviser, will go with me to some spot where, old as we are, a new life can be entered into."

John Slattery is an elderly man, with judgment matured, and yet he fell. The "Molly" seeks recruits for the order among young and impressible boys, whom it makes assassins in cold blood before the age of twenty.

The story of the murdered victim is a terrible one in all its surroundings,—the widowed wife, the children cast unprotected on the world, and a society spell-bound by fear. But it is not so sad a tale as that of the murdered souls and darkened lives of many young and innocent boys. Influenced by the older villain who tells of cruel deeds done as heroic acts, their judgment has been obscured, their enthusiasm aroused, and they have become soul and body the slaves of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, under its specious motto of "Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity."

CHAPTER XV.

THE MURDER OF POLICEMAN YOST.

James Kerrigan, body-master of Tamaqua, is now about thirty-three years of age. He is of Irish parentage, born at a small settlement near Tuscarora. Motherless at the age of three months, and abandoned by his father, he grew to manhood without training, physical, mental, or moral. It would not be correct to say that he was badly

treated in his childhood, for that would imply some degree of care and attention; he was utterly neglected. He never went to school a day in his life; is unable to read or write, and has been forced to shift for himself from earliest childhood.

Kerrigan is scarcely five feet in height; is well built; has black hair and sharp black eyes. He is quick in movement and rapid in speech; has an excellent memory, good intellect, and fine perceptive faculties. He is careless, jovial, and ready at repartee. Whilst not repulsive in appearance, he is not handsome; the little fellow is, nevertheless, vain, and with opportunity would develop into a dapper little dandy. He grew up drunken and worthless, and has shown an amount of wickedness beyond all proportion to the size of his body. He is a married man with children.

During the war he was in the Union army. He is said to have been a good soldier, of unquestioned bravery. He received an honorable discharge, came home, fell into his old way, and became a member of the "Molly Maguires."

During the year 1874 and part of 1875, Kerrigan was in the habit of frequent intercourse with a man named Thomas Duffy. This arose from no similarity in their general character, but from the fact that both belonged to the organization and both were fond of hard drinking. Duffy is the younger man of the two; is about twenty-five years of age; is of medium height, strongly built, dark, heavy features,—looks like a Spaniard; is reticent of speech, and revengeful. He was steady as a workman. Duffy was quarrelsome in his cups. Kerrigan was noisy, reckless, ready for anything. They had both more than once been arrested by the Tamaqua night police, and imprisoned in the lock-up.

In the years 1874 and 1875 there were two night watchmen in Tamaqua, one named Barney McCarron, an Irishman, and the other Benjamin F. Yost, of Pennsylvania German

extraction. In making arrests, Kerrigan had several times been severely handled before he would submit, and on one occasion, during the fall of 1874, Yost beat Duffy severely on the head with his policeman's club.

This excited in Duffy a feeling of intense and bitter hatred and a desire for revenge. He brought a prosecution against Yost for assault and battery; this case was, however, amicably settled. But his hatred to Yost increased with time, and he determined to accomplish his death. This he proposed to Kerrigan, who, nothing loath, agreed. Kerrigan would have agreed under any circumstances, but in this matter he was specially willing; he had his own grievances to avenge.

Kerrigan was at this time the nominal body-master of the Tamaqua Division, but the real head was James Carroll, who kept the Union House, a sort of "Molly" headquarters.

Carroll is a man between thirty and forty years of age; is about five feet seven inches in height, of slight build, dark hair and eyes; an attractive and rather handsome face. He does not look like a bad man, and until within three or four years past his general reputation was good. At this time, however, he was fully imbued with the spirit of Molly Maguireism and active in advancing their plans, whatever might be their nature.

To Carroll, therefore, as the real head of the division, the proposition to murder Yost was submitted by both Kerrigan and Duffy. Carroll, although it does not appear that he had any personal feeling in the matter, engaged heart and soul in the enterprise. This was during the month of June, 1875.

After the matter had been determined on, Duffy happened to meet Roarity, the body-master of Coaldale Division, at Carroll's. He spoke to Roarity of the murder in contemplation, and offered to give him five dollars if he

would accomplish it. Roarity consented at once, saying that, if he did not do it himself, he would send over two men who would.*

Coaldale is located in Schuylkill County, near the Carbon County line, and but a short distance from the villages of Lansford, Ashton, Storm Hill, the three being parts of the same town, and Summit Hill, the latter the western terminus of the Switchback Railroad. This section of country is, to a great extent, populated with employees of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, and, as a consequence, the villages named have close social and business relations.

The leading "Molly" in this section of the country, although not at this time holding official position, was a man named Alexander Campbell, a liquor-dealer and saloon-keeper at Storm Hill. Campbell had been for years well acquainted in the neighborhood of his present residence, but had kept the Union House, Tamaqua, immediately before the same was taken by James Carroll.

Roarity, after his interview with Duffy, mentioned that the Tamaqua Division had in contemplation the murder of Policeman Yost, and the request made that he should do the "job." It so happened that at this time the "Mollies" in the neighborhood of Storm Hill and Summit Hill had also determined upon a murder,—the intended victim being John P. Jones, a boss in the employ of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, holding the position formerly filled by Morgan Powell, whose murder has been already described. The idea of an exchange of "Molly courtesies" at once suggested itself.

This murder was in strict accordance with "Molly" ethics. Charles Parrish, Esq., president of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, equally with Mr. Gowen, un-

* This is Kerrigan's evidence.

derstood the necessity, for the successful operation of his company, that the "Molly" organization should be broken up. He understood fully the practical working and management of mining operations and the evil consequences of "Molly" control.

At Summit Hill, two men named William Mulhall and Hugh McGeehan, known to belong to the organization, had rendered themselves obnoxious. They were placed on the "black-list," no member of which was employed by the company. Unable to obtain work, they blamed John P. Jones for having them "black-listed." They made complaint, and their cause was advocated by Campbell, a man of determined will and more than ordinary ability.

Campbell is tall and straight, of slight but sinewy person; has dark hair and eyes. He was money-making, ambitious of power, and a controlling spirit. He understood perfectly the importance of "Molly" ascendency to his business, and had it in view that the operations of the company located at that point should, by bosses under his control, be run in the interest of his liquor-store. The murder of John P. Jones, who was an avowed enemy of the order, was therefore in accordance with his views.

The agreement was made. Men were to be furnished from the neighborhood of Summit Hill to kill Policeman Yost in consideration of Carroll and Kerrigan sending men from Schuylkill County to dispose of John P. Jones. Mulhall and McGeehan, as parties specially interested, were selected on the part of Summit Hill. Yost was to be killed first.

The Fourth of July, 1875, fell on a Sunday. The 5th of July was therefore the national holiday. Roarity had come over to Tamaqua, and, about eleven o'clock in the morning, met Kerrigan at Carroll's. They drank together several times, and the question of the proposed murder was discussed. It was agreed that it should be accom-

plished that night; but Roarity insisted that Kerrigan should walk with him to Storm Hill, and they would then come back together.

Jimmy objected to this arrangement, both on account of the heat and also for the reason that he had no money. Carroll insisted upon his going, and gave him two dollars to pay expenses. The distance from Tamaqua to Storm Hill is about five miles. Upon arriving at that place, Roarity and Kerrigan went at once to Campbell's. Inquiry was made for Mulhall and McGeehan, but Campbell said he had not seen them that day.

Roarity hunted them up, and reported to Campbell and Kerrigan that they had agreed to go to Tamaqua that night for the purpose intended, and that he would guide them over. His pistol, he said, had already been sent to Carroll's. Word had been received at Campbell's that Mrs. Roarity was sick, and he now went home to see what was the matter. Kerrigan remained some little while engaged in conversation, and then went back to Tamaqua alone.

The point for the assassination of Yost had been already selected by Carroll, Duffy, and Kerrigan during a Sunday afternoon walk. It was at a lamp-post at the upper end of the town, opposite Yost's house, and the last one usually extinguished by him, and when extinguished, that portion of the town was in darkness.

It was arranged that all parties should meet at Carroll's early in the evening. Duffy, who was an engineer, had been at work that day up to three o'clock, pumping water at the mines where he was employed, about two and a half miles to the west of Tamaqua. After that time he dressed himself and started for Tamaqua, stopping on his way with two picnic-parties. He arrived at Carroll's in the evening, and walked directly back into the kitchen. Carroll, Kerrigan, McGeehan, and James Boyle soon came in and joined them.

Roarity had been kept away by the sickness of his wife. Shortly after Kerrigan had left Storm Hill, Campbell and McGeehan, in talking over the matter, came to the conclusion that, as Mulhall was a married man with a family, he had better be left at home, and James Boyle, who was convenient, was asked to go in his stead, and had consented to do so.

Here was again illustrated the general policy of getting young men to do the actual work. McGeehan himself presents one of the most singular results of the Molly Maguire organization. He is uneducated, but is generally correct in his habits, does not use a profane word, and has never touched a drop of liquor in his life. He is only about twenty-two years old. Nevertheless, whilst he has not the look of a criminal, he has given no indication to lead to the idea that he is other than the testimony paints him to be,—cold, hard, ruthless, and relentless.

Boyle is also a young man, was of dissipated habits, has rather an amiable look, is irresolute, impressible, and controlled more by association than by any natural inclination, good or bad.

During the greater part of the evening the conspirators occupied the kitchen, although at intervals they all showed themselves in the bar-room, and Kerrigan in different parts of the town. The others only went out once before they left. In order to explain fully the plan in view, Duffy walked with McGeehan and Boyle up the street and past the lamp-post. They then returned to the hotel.

A difficulty arose from the want of pistols. Neither McGeehan nor Boyle had brought one. The only effective weapon on hand was the Roarity pistol. Carroll sent Kerrigan to several places to borrow another, but he met with no success. It was finally determined that McGeehan should use the Roarity pistol, whilst Boyle would have to content himself with a small single-barreled pistol belonging to Carroll.

Kerrigan during the evening met both policemen, and took a drink with McCarron. He discovered that they did not separate. Both he and Carroll were, or pretended to be, alarmed at this fact. Carroll argued that, as both policemen were together, the undertaking was dangerous, and had better be postponed. Kerrigan, on his part, asserted that it was well known that he had had difficulties and quarrels with McCarron, and there was great danger that he would be suspected.

Young McGeehan, however, would not entertain any proposition as to the postponement of the work on hand. He said that it was the second or third time that he had come over to do a job of this kind, and he would not be put off; it must be done then or never. Boyle was indifferent, and ready to take whatever action might be agreed upon.

It was discovered, how and when does not appear, that the lights were to be turned off first in the eastern part of the town, in McCarron's district. By this arrangement the gas-light in front of Yost's house would be the last extinguished.

It was decided that Kerrigan should go home, in order that he might arrange to get in afterwards without trouble. Duffy was to lead McGeehan and Boyle up the back streets to the cemetery, there to leave them and return to Carroll's, where, in the event of his being suspected, he was to prove that he had remained during the night. This plan was carried out. Kerrigan went home, came out, leaving the door unlocked, and returned to the cemetery, bringing with him a bottle of whisky. There he found McGeehan and Boyle awaiting him.

Kerrigan now led the two to the street-lamp, and placed them under shade-trees near by. For over an hour the lurking miscreants lay in wait before the two policemen made their appearance.

If there was ever a bloody and cold-blooded murder contemplated, this was one. Not only was it predetermined and deliberate, but in the stillness of the midnight hour additional time was given in which, with their minds fully bent on the object in view, the ghastly nature of the crime might be presented in all its naked enormity.

But no thought of pity touched the heart of any of the three; no idea of relenting; no sudden remorse of conscience; and yet there was no deadly hatred in the heart of either of the three against the intended victim. As the huntsman follows the fox or the woodsman the deer, so were they in the pursuit of unresisting game; their excitement was more intense, their joy more exultant; the game they had in view was human life.

All three were worthy children of the "Molly Maguire;" all three were bent upon a common object, and yet between the three were marked distinctions. Kerrigan, wild, bold, careless, reckless, feasted on crime as he did on liquor; he loved the wild and mad excitement; so far as revenge was concerned, a curse would have sufficed him. Boyle, with little purpose or ambition, did as he was bidden, without one ray of conscience or thought of care except for the whisky in Kerrigan's bottle.

But McGeehan was young and ambitious; he felt the responsibility that was upon him; he knew what was expected of him. He did not hate Yost, but he was impressed with the heroic aspect of the matter; he earnestly desired to be considered "a good hand for a clean job."

Yost and McCarron came up-street, but, instead of putting out the light at once, as had been expected, they first went into Yost's house for something to eat. The sight of the prey maddened Kerrigan; he insisted upon having a hand in the play himself; as he had no pistol, he would take two rocks, and when Yost fell he would beat his brains out.

But McGeehan meant work and not idle talk. He told Kerrigan that he should take no stones; that he (McGeehan) intended to do the job; that he had five charges in his pistol, and that if either Kerrigan or Boyle moved an inch whilst the murder was being committed their lives would be the forfeit.

At last the two policemen came out of the house, and Yost proceeded to the lamp-post and mounted the ladder, McCarron remaining some distance off across the street. At this moment McGeehan and Boyle stepped forward and discharged their pistols. Boyle missed his mark, but the ball from McGeehan's pistol inflicted a fatal wound in the right side.

Yost staggered from the ladder, exclaiming, "Oh! my God! I am shot! my wife!"

The murderers, under the lead of Kerrigan, fled. McCarron ran after them, firing two shots, which McGeehan returned. They kept on the main street, which led them out of the western part of the town, then, leaving the road, they crossed over to the Sharp Mountain. They then reversed their direction. Kerrigan took them through unfrequented paths, then again turning into the town they passed through alleys and back streets to the eastern limits of the borough.

The hour was late and the lights extinguished, and thus far they had met no one. Kerrigan continued with them until they were certain of their road, and then returned to his own home unnoticed. Kerrigan tore his black pantaloons. This seems to have made as much impression on his mind as the murder.

Boyle and McGeehan met but one person, a young Irishman named Robert Breslin, at one time a member of the order. This was not deemed of special importance. The deed was regarded as a "good job well done," hidden from view, ranking with the many murders and outrages of the past, undetected and unavenged.

But the meeting with Breslin had a significance little dreamed of then. It completely overthrew the "alibi" which in course of time was attempted to be set up.

Robert Breslin, a young Irishman, was in the employ of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company. He resided with his father in the Bloomingdale Valley, about a mile southwest of Summit Hill. He had been at a picnic at the last-named place the day and night of the 5th of July. He remained at the party until late, and, thinking it not worth while to go to bed, he threw himself upon a porch and slept until daylight. He then started for home, and met on the way McGeehan and Boyle. This was shortly after four o'clock. Breslin was surprised to meet them, and said,—

"Where the devil are you coming from this time in the morning?"

One of them replied, "We are coming from Mauch Chunk; we were there last night at a ball."

Breslin remarked, "You have had a hard tramp."

"Yes," was the reply, "we have lost our way." (This was to account for the fact that they were on the road leading to Tamaqua.) "Is there any water about here?"

"No," said Breslin; "but if you come back to the house I will give you some."

Boyle refused, saying, "We have not time: we must go to work."

Breslin was not fully trusted; he had been a member of the order, but had left it; was a good workman, and held in esteem by his employers. It was thought that in any event, on account of his own safety, he would keep quiet.

Mrs. Yost was sitting at the window of her room at the time her husband was shot. She was an eye-witness of the tragedy, had a glimpse of the murderers, and heard their retreating footsteps. Almost frantic, she rushed down-stairs to meet her husband mortally wounded on the pave-

ment. In agony, he exclaimed, "I am shot, and I must die!" He requested that the doctor should be sent for. The bitterness of death was upon him, and he steadied himself upon the clinging form of his young wife, and said, "Sis, give me a kiss." He then repeated that he must die.

The wife exclaimed, "Oh, Frank, do you know who shot you?"

"No," was the answer; "but there were two Irishmen, and one was smaller than the other." McCarron stepped forward, but could give the desperate wife no answer as to who were the murderers of her husband.

The shots had aroused the neighborhood, and in a few minutes a number of persons had collected in the house. Dr. Solliday arrived, examined the wound, and was forced to confirm Yost in his avowed belief that he was mortally wounded. Death did not, however, occur until ten o'clock in the morning. In the mean time he conversed with Dr. Solliday, with Squire Lebo, Conrad F. Shindel, and with Daniel F. Shepp, a brother-in-law of Mrs. Yost.

He repeated that he did not know the men, but that they were Irishmen, and that one was smaller than the other; that he had seen them at Carroll's as he passed there that night with McCarron; that Barney was the man they had intended to shoot; that he had been afraid of them, and had asked him to go with him when he put out the lights, and that Barney had in turn accompanied him, and the mistake had thus occurred.

The character of Duffy and Kerrigan, and their difficulties with the police-officers, were well known, and they were in consequence at once suspected. Yost was repeatedly asked if these two men were not the murderers, but he said, "No!" But he again said that he and Barney had seen them the night before at Carroll's, and in the presence of Dr. Solliday asked McCarron who the men were, and

to this McCarron answered, "Oh, they were men from the other side," meaning from the direction of Summit Hill.

Yost died. An inquest was held. It was apparently without result. It appeared from McCarron's testimony that he did not know the strangers who were at Carroll's that night. Months passed by; no arrests for this murder were made; and the public was gradually settling into the belief that it was but another tale of murder open and defiant, but impossible of detection.

CHAPTER XVI.

McPARLAN AT WORK—THE MURDER OF GOMER JAMES.

THERE were many circumstances which tended to call public attention to the murder of Benjamin F. Yost. He was at the time of his death about thirty-three years of age, enjoyed a good character, was kindly in nature, popular in manners, and had served his country during the war in the Forty-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers. His family was an extensive one, old residents of that part of Schuylkill County lying outside of the coal region. His widow is a young and attractive woman; her countenance displays refinement and amiability. She is a daughter of Joshua Boyer, an old and respected citizen, for several terms a member of the State Legislature from Schuylkill County.

The murder had been an exceedingly daring one, committed on the main street of a town regarded as almost exempt from "Molly" influence and as entirely exempt from "Molly" control. As a consequence, intense excitement prevailed. In the large towns of the Mahanoy region

on the one side, and in Carbon County, around Summit and Storm Hill, on the other, the frequent occurrence of outrages had to a certain extent rendered them familiar. A murder of this nature, however, in Tamaqua, where the proportion of the mining population was comparatively small, inspired horror and surprise at the evident power of the suspected organization; but at the same time a determined spirit of resistance, and intense and bitter desire to bring the guilty parties to justice.

The borough authorities were active, and determined, if possible, to discover the murderers. Nothing of very great importance had been elicited at the inquest. The testimony of Mrs. Carroll, that Duffy was at the hotel during the night, and the dying declarations of Yost, that neither Duffy nor Kerrigan committed the act, apparently exonerated them. Nevertheless, Michael Beard, Daniel Shepp, and some others, could not rid themselves of suspicion. Yost had not, to their knowledge, except these men, an enemy in the world, and a murder entirely motiveless was beyond their comprehension. It was determined by Daniel Shepp and Michael Beard to employ the Pinkerton Agency, if necessary at their own expense; and Benjamin Franklin, the Philadelphia superintendent, was applied to. He took the matter in hand, but he did not disclose to them the details of his operations, he made no unnecessary confidants.

He readily arranged with the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company relative to the use of the coal-region detectives in this matter, and McParlan received instructions on the 14th of July, 1875, to investigate and report. McKenna, on the 15th, made his appearance on the scene of action, and, as might be expected, conducted his investigations with great prudence and sagacity. He knew the Union House to be the Molly headquarters, and, going there at once, for the first time formed the acquaintance of James Carroll.

Carroll had heard of McKenna as one of the leading "Mollies" of the Mahanoy Valley, and treated him cordially. McKenna referred to the murder of Yost, but Carroll pretended to know but little about it; he said he had heard of the murder, and that Mrs. Carroll had been a witness at the coroner's inquest to prove that Duffy had remained at their house on the night of the murder.

McKenna understood perfectly that to betray the least curiosity would arouse suspicion; he therefore asked but few questions at the time. He determined, however, to cultivate an intimacy with Carroll, believing that, sooner or later, he should gain the object he had in view. From what he had learned, and from what he understood of the method of proceeding by the organization in like cases, he was satisfied that the murderers had come from either Carbon County or the Mahanoy Valley, and that Carroll would know all about it.

That they did not come from the valley he believed, for the reason that, in such case, he would himself have been likely to hear of it. His first impression was that the proper person to reach was the County Delegate of Carbon. He therefore went that afternoon to Storm Hill, where he called on Alec Campbell, a leading member at that place, with whom he had previous acquaintance, and who he thought might know something of the transaction. He made pretended business an excuse for visiting the County Delegate. Campbell volunteered to walk with him to Summit Hill to see Thomas P. Fisher, who then occupied the position, and with whom McKenna also had previous acquaintance.

On the way McKenna introduced the subject of the Yost murder, assuming, as a matter of course, that it had been perpetrated by parties from that section. This Campbell admitted, said it was "a clean job," but that they would never have taken it in hand except on a trade. McKenna had now discovered what he before suspected,

that he was in communication with one of the parties understanding the whole transaction. Not venturing to make direct inquiries, he remained with Fisher that night, but learned nothing further. He returned the next day to Campbell's, at Storm Hill. Exercising caution, he only strove to increase his intimacy without asking any further questions. On his part he was apparently open, talked freely of the terrible deeds which he pretended to have committed himself, and strove to create the impression that there was nothing he was not willing to attempt. McKenna at all times had been anxious to maintain the character of a desperado without doing any desperate act; he would strike a man with his fist on small provocation, and at a moment's notice, if by so doing he could make a point. He had in this way acquired a reputation for courage which commanded respect and induced confidence. His apparent recklessness and dashing, jovial manners excited admiration and rendered him popular. He remained at Campbell's, visiting around the neighborhood, until Sunday, the 25th. He had on the 17th opened the matter cautiously to Mike McKenna, son of Pat McKenna, a saloon-keeper and body-master. Mike had not been concerned in the transaction himself, but knew the names of the parties concerned. He gave McKenna his information relative to the matter, which was in the main correct. On the 18th, Hugh McGeehan was introduced by Campbell in a complimentary way as one of the Yost murderers. During the next few days he obtained no further information.

On the 25th he returned to Tamaqua, determined to continue his investigations there. On the afternoon of that day he called at Carroll's, and found him in a more confidential mood than on the occasion of his first visit. He stated the difficulty in relation to the pistols, and that a large one of Roarity's was used and a small one of his own; that Duffy, Kerrigan, Roarity, and himself knew all

about the murder. He did not, however, give the names of those who actually committed the crime. McKenna was stopping at the Columbia House, but now concluded to make Carroll's his loafing-place.

On the 27th, a man named Pat McNellis came into Carroll's and asked where he could see James Kerrigan, stating that he had been sent over by Alec Campbell. He was told where Kerrigan lived, and it was suggested that he could find him at home during the evening. That evening McKenna made a friendly call on Kerrigan. McNellis paid his visit at the time suggested. Whilst the full details of the interview were not discovered at this time, Kerrigan giving only partial confidence, the fact of the intended assassination of John P. Jones, boss of the mining operations of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company at Summit Hill, was discovered; also that Kerrigan had the matter in charge, and that it was postponed for the time being. On this occasion Kerrigan sent the Roarity pistol, which he had borrowed a few days previously, by McNellis to its owner.

The position of affairs was now becoming critical. Not only did the duty devolve upon the detective to investigate the murder of Yost, but he had also to prevent, if possible, the contemplated assassination of John P. Jones.

To cultivate intimacy with both Carroll and Kerrigan was necessary. In the matter of Carroll this was easy; his hotel was his natural loafing-place. For oft-repeated visits, at short intervals, to Kerrigan's house an excuse was requisite. It presented itself to McKenna in a most agreeable form. Kerrigan was a married man, and his wife had a sister, Miss Mary Ann Hegins, who lived near by and visited him frequently.

Miss Hegins was a young and good-looking Irish girl, and her conquest of the too susceptible McKenna was on the instant. He was her most devoted admirer and con-

stant visitor. He made no concealment of the fact that his heart was irreparably lost, and that Mary Ann was the fair enslaver.

This sudden passion on McKenna's part not only gave him intimate relations with Kerrigan, but also furnished a valid reason for his protracted stay in Tamaqua.

On the afternoon of the 4th of August, Alec Campbell stopped at Carroll's. McKenna was very particular in his inquiries after McGeehan, whom he pretended to admire on account of the "clean job" he had done.

Campbell said he and Mulhall were at work in Tuscarora, but that McGeehan had done so good a thing in killing Yost that he intended to start him in a saloon, and he asked McKenna if he would not come over to the opening.

He went on to say that Kerrigan was to have come over on the 29th to kill John P. Jones, but that he was so small he would be conspicuous, and he had therefore sent him word by McNellis not to come over at that time. Besides that, he wanted McGeehan to get first settled in his saloon.

When he and Mulhall got settled steadily at work he wanted men from Schuylkill County to come over to kill John P. Jones, in consideration of their having sent men over to kill Yost.

After Campbell had left, McKenna said to Carroll, "You see I knew all about the Yost matter." Carroll answered, "I knew you did, but it was not my place to tell you." He then gave a detailed description of the affair, explaining why it was that Boyle had come over in place of Mulhall. He thought it a "clean job," and it would never be found out. Kerrigan came into Carroll's about seven o'clock in the evening, when McKenna spoke of Campbell's intending to send word to Carroll of the time of McGeehan's opening, and that both he and Kerrigan must go over. The two commenced a conversation about the Yost murder. From Carroll's they took a walk to the

Catholic cemetery, where Kerrigan gave a detailed description of the commission of the crime, and also talked of the contemplated murder of John P. Jones.

McParlan had now the confessions of three of the principals in the Yost murder, and a knowledge of the contemplated assassination of Jones. It was thought best, especially for the purpose of arranging for the safety of Jones, that there should be a personal interview between Superintendent Franklin, Captain Linden, and himself. This was fixed to take place on the 9th of August, at Onoko Glen, two miles to the north of Mauch Chunk.

As a result of the interview with Superintendent Franklin and Captain Linden, John P. Jones was made aware through the Tamaqua authorities of his danger, and was, during the succeeding nights, in the constant company of Coal and Iron Policemen.

Mr. Franklin returned to Philadelphia, and Captain Linden and McKenna stopped at Mauch Chunk. Whilst together they saw Campbell and McGeehan on the other side of the street. Campbell hailed McKenna and asked him to take a drink. McKenna immediately dropped Linden and joined him, and on being asked why he did not bring his friend along, denied the acquaintance, saying that he was a fellow full of beer who had asked him the way to the Mansion House.

The parties had been successful in arranging for McGeehan's license, and it was settled that the opening should take place on the 13th or 14th. Campbell was very enthusiastic on the subject of McGeehan's execution of the Yost murder. He said that he was the best man in Carbon County; the job was a clean one. Boyle had been along, but McGeehan had done the work, and he deserved to be set up in business for the manner in which he had performed it. McGeehan received the compliments with the gratified yet modest air of a virtuous and noble youth re-

ceiving just praise from a respected superior for heroic and magnanimous conduct.

McKenna returned with his "Molly" friends over the Switchback Railroad. Captain Linden was again encountered in the cars. McKenna talked loud, and called both Campbell and McGeehan by name, in order that Linden would be able to recognize them.

It was the object of McKenna now to receive the confessions of all the Yost murderers, if possible. His method of approaching McGeehan and Roarity was ingenious. He knew that the ball which occasioned Yost's death was from a No. 32 cartridge. He went over from Tamaqua to Campbell's on the 13th of August, to attend the McGeehan opening, but found that it was postponed for one day.

On the 14th, at McGeehan's saloon, he called him aside and asked him if he had any No. 32 cartridges; that he had a pistol carrying that sized ball which he had stolen from a man in Tamaqua, and that he was afraid to purchase the balls at any store for fear of being suspected as the thief.

McGeehan fell into the trap at once; he said he had no pistol carrying such a ball, but Roarity had,—in fact, IT was the pistol with which he had killed Yost; that Roarity for this reason was himself cautious in regard to cartridges, and he was not positive whether he would have any. The conversation being on that subject, McGeehan, encouraged by McKenna, narrated with particularity and at length the manner in which the murder had been accomplished.

On the 15th, McKenna broached the subject of the pistol to Roarity, referring to his conversation with McGeehan. Roarity said he did not know whether he had any cartridges left; that his was the pistol with which Yost was shot, and that he had been afraid to buy any since that time. He conversed freely with McKenna on the subject.

McKenna had obtained up to this time the confessions

of Campbell, Kerrigan, Carroll, McGeehan, and Roarity, and there remained only two, Duffy and Boyle, who had not confessed their guilt to him.

Before McKenna could develop any plan by which they could be reached, the Mahanoy regions claimed his immediate attention. It was now fully a month that he had been absent investigating the Tamaqua matters, and his success had certainly been wonderful.

On the 16th, however, he received news which hurried him home. A large picnic had been held on the 14th of August, near Shenandoah. The "Mollies" were there in force, although it was not by any means a "Molly" picnic, there being present persons of all nationalities resident in the town. During the evening there were a great many drunken men, and considerable disorder prevailed. Towards midnight, the great majority of those present were Mollies or young Irish boys. Gomer James, a young Welshman, watchman at a small coal-drift near Shenandoah, was still on the ground, and was waiting behind the bar. At about one o'clock at night, Thomas Hurley walked up to him, drew a pistol, and in presence of the assembled crowd shot him, inflicting a wound from which he died in a few moments. The murder was bold, open, and in the presence of many witnesses. In the neighborhood of two hundred people were there at the time. There was not only no attempt at concealment, but Hurley openly boasted of his crime.

The assassination of James had been determined upon for some months. He had offended young Tom Hurley (before described as connected with the attempted assassination of Bully Bill), and his death had been resolved upon and a time fixed. This had, however, been within the knowledge of McKenna, and from information given by the Detective Agency, and precautions in consequence taken, he had been for the time being kept out of danger.

As soon as McKenna heard of the murder he started for Shenandoah, stopping on the way at Mahanoy City, where he had heard a man also had been shot. He arrived at Shenandoah about nine o'clock in the evening, and there he met a number of his friends. They went up to Monaghan's saloon. John Morris,* Ed Monaghan,† McAndrew, Ed Sweeney, Muff Lawler, and others were present. He was soon in possession of the facts of the case, told by Hurley and discussed by the others. Hurley was the hero of the evening, and received universal applause. It was generally conceded that for so brave and gallant an act he was entitled to reward. Muff Lawler suggested that as McKenna had plenty of time he should go to Girardville and see John Kehoe, the County Delegate, and ascertain if a good reward would not be paid by the organization. Hurley and Morris also urged McKenna to do this. He, pretending to be as enthusiastic as the others, consented, and on the following day (the 17th of August) went to Girardville to see Kehoe. Whilst he was carrying out the instructions he had received to that extent, he was determined, if possible, to let the subject be introduced by Kehoe.

McKenna started the conversation by saying the Saturday night had been very rough up the valley. Kehoe assented, and then immediately commenced talking about the murder of Gomer James. He was enthusiastic; the job had been a clean one; Hurley was entitled to a large reward; for an act of that kind he ought to have three hundred dollars or five hundred dollars. He said he did not wish to take the responsibility of ordering so large an amount himself from county funds, but he would call a convention at Tamaqua on the 25th of the month, and there present the matter and have the approval of the organization to a large reward.

* Connected with the attempted assassination of Wm. M. Thomas.
† Constable of Shenandoah.

McKenna of course assented to the justice of Kehoe's position, and, returning to Shenandoah, reported to Hurley, who at once said he would attend the convention at Tamaqua on the 25th.

The terrorism which the "Molly Maguires" had inspired, and their belief in their immunity from punishment, are in no act better illustrated than in the murder of Gomer James. The deed was perpetrated late at night, it is true, but in the presence of a very large number of witnesses, many of whom were boys and others not members of the society. Hurley, during the night, had openly boasted of his crime, and never dreamed at that time of being a fugitive from justice. On the contrary, he was a hero and an object of admiration.

It was felt that the whole organization could with perfect safety be trusted with what might scarcely be called a secret, and that his conduct would be regarded with universal and unqualified approval. The question of reward was to be submitted to the leaders of the order. Their belief as to Hurley's safety was apparently well founded. No witness of the bloody deed at that time dared report to the authorities. Vainglorious and triumphant, he boasted of his crime. He assumed airs of superiority, vaunted his own courage, and was critical as to the past and present capacity, as "good hands for a clean job," of other members of the order.

It is not credible that the very many persons who, either as eye-witnesses or through the open confessions of Hurley, knew him to be the murderer of Gomer James approved of the act. But the terrorism existing, the fear of personal danger, sealed their lips. It was not until months after, when unlooked-for dangers to the order arose, that Hurley, terror-stricken, fled from the coal regions and the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

JACK KEHOE—MURDER OF GWITHER—ATTEMPTED MURDER OF RILES.

THIS openness and frequency of crime were to a great degree owing to the counsel and influence of John Kehoe, County Delegate. Kehoe had been for sixteen or seventeen years a member of the order, either under the name of "Buckshot" or "Molly Maguire," and regarded with pride its fast-growing influence under the name of the "Ancient Order of Hibernians."

He is a large, rather handsome man, with a cold gray eye, but there is nothing in his appearance to indicate the incarnate fiend which recent developments have shown him to be. He is a man of great determination of character, of an intense selfishness, that permits neither friend nor foe, kindred, family, religion or country, native or adopted, to stand in the way of his wishes or his safety.

His disregard of human life is simply appalling and inconceivable.

The writer of fiction who should sketch such a character would be regarded as unnatural and "sensational" beyond excuse. Yet that there are many in the order fully as wicked and insensible as he to all ties, human and divine, there is just reason to believe.

He is a man of plausible address. In his intercourse with those outside the order, he argued with great earnestness and seeming sincerity that it was a benevolent association, regularly incorporated, and that its objects were not only lawful, but in the highest degree in accordance

with Christian morals. He spoke of the crimes of the "Molly Maguires" with deep regret, and resented with great show of indignation any charge or even innuendo that there was the slightest connection between that dread power and the society of which he was County Delegate.

As has been before asserted, high crime is generally committed under the influence of sudden passion, of jealousy, or of revenge; under pressure of poverty or instigated by avarice. Either of these motives would justify, according to "Molly" ethics, a murder, and one or the other sometimes entered into it, but none of them were requisite. A simple request, without a statement of the reason or even the name of the intended victim, was sufficient. Kehoe took great pride in the terrorism inspired by the order, and the mystery with which, to the outside world, its action was enveloped. It gave him with his fellows a power and position in which he delighted. His uniform advice for open and desperate measures increased not only his popularity but the admiration with which he was regarded by his rough associates. He advised bold crimes not only by reason of the natural cruelty of his character, but also in the hope that in this way he could firmly establish his position as against Barney Dolan, from whom, in a sharp contest, he had wrested the position of County Delegate.

Dolan is sharp, shrewd, and an antagonist by no means to be despised. He had been very popular, but used his office to increase the political power of the order, and by that means his own, and to attract custom to his drinking-saloon.

Kehoe, acting on the assumption that Dolan had been cowardly and weak in his direction of the order, endeavored to contrast with such former policy his own boldness and daring. Kehoe entirely under-estimated the force of the opposing elements to the organization. He had no

idea of the strength of moral power. For this, however, he has some excuse. He had known of crimes committed for years throughout the anthracite coal regions and the criminals escaping punishment; he had known of communities roused almost to madness for the moment on the perpetration of some startling outrage, and then, the first excitement past, it would be apparently forgotten.

He had seen townships misgoverned and fraud triumphant, and people submit as to an inevitable evil. He had seen members of his order in the State Legislature and high in county offices. He had himself been courted and caressed for political favors, and the politician, Republican and Democrat, was specially careful of his feelings in uttering no word against the "Molly Maguire."

Association with criminals was avowed; earnest sympathy for criminals was expressed; favors for criminals were asked; and yet, in the heat of the contest, the politician pandered to their vices and acceded to their lawless demands.

Jack Kehoe, with many others, discarded the authority and teachings of the church in which he was reared; and yet that authority he had been taught from his cradle to reverence, its teachings were pure and good. Having no faith themselves, can it be wondered at that with their past experience with others neither he nor his desperate associates could dream of the slumbering volcano over which they rested in apparent security, nor of the force of a moral sentiment, rising high above party ties and petty ambitions, that would crush them as between the upper and the nether millstone? No! Jack Kehoe in his intercourse with men had seen no evidence of moral sentiment, but he had firm reliance in his political influence. He believed that with any plausible defense to crime any member of the order was safe.

His bold policy and his counsels were, however, occa-

sioning crimes with such a degree of rapidity that terrible retribution must soon have been the consequence.

The idea of murder was now familiarized to an extent never before dreamed of even in this organization.

A number of murders were contemplated in the immediate future, some of which, fortunately, have been prevented.

During the evening of Saturday, the 14th of August, 1875, the same night that Gomer James was shot, a personal difficulty occurred in Girardville between a man named William Love and Esquire Thomas Gwither, in the office of the latter.

It appears that Esquire Gwither, in pursuance of the duties of his office, had issued a warrant against Love. Love, outraged at what he chose to consider a violation of his rights as a citizen, called at Esquire Gwither's office about ten o'clock that evening and became abusive. The Esquire ordered him out of his office, and, upon Love's refusing to go, put him out by force. Love became furious, and left for his home near by, uttering threats of vengeance.

Gwither, it is supposed, was going to his own house for means of protection. Whilst still in the street, Love came rushing out, armed with a gun, followed by his mother, who, much alarmed, was endeavoring to control him. The excitement attracted a crowd of people.

When within a short distance, Love fired the contents of his gun, loaded with shot, into the breast, arms, and abdomen of Gwither, inflicting about sixty wounds. Death was almost instantaneous.

The murderer then rushed down the street past his house and escaped. He is still a fugitive. It would have been possible for him to remain for weeks undetected near the scene of his crime. Such a course of conduct would have been by no means unusual, and not so foolhardy as

would at first sight appear. In a settlement composed in the main of his own countrymen, no man would prove an "informer." Certainly, in making his escape, no difficulty would exist in covering the tracks of the criminal. Many who would have no part in the crime—not only no sympathy, but would regard it with horror and the murderer with detestation—would give him aid and hearty assistance in effecting his escape. It is asserted that the parties so aiding and assisting him are known, and that among them is a county official belonging to the order.

This was not, strictly speaking, a "Molly" murder, although Love was a member of the organization. It was not conducted in accordance with "Molly" rules or in accordance with established "Molly" precedents. He allowed himself to be carried away by heat of passion. A moment's calm reflection might have shown him that by an appeal to the order his end might have been attained in a way not to disturb his family or disarrange his business. He had only to signify his desire and promise his own services when required, and a party of strangers, both to himself and to the victim, would have done the work.

Long immunity had, however, begotten carelessness, and even in the organization the precautions which had been deemed essential in the past were lost sight of.

Esquire Gwither was highly esteemed, and his murder aroused general indignation. The brother of the murderer was arrested on suspicion, but, no evidence being produced against him, he was discharged.

During the following week the assassination of James Riles, a saloon-keeper at Shenandoah, was attempted. Riles had been, some months prior to this time, shot and very seriously wounded by a "Molly" named John Tobin. The assault had been an aggravated one, and that Riles had not been killed was merely the result of accident. Prosecution had been entered against Tobin, and, the evidence

being conclusive, effort had been made to effect a settlement.

Upon the offer of the payment of costs, Riles, who was in possession of some property, thought it best to agree and drop the matter. Mrs. Riles would not, however, consent without payment of the doctor's bill, and the loss of her husband's time whilst disabled was also included. The whole cost would have been in the neighborhood of one hundred dollars. This Tobin and his friends positively refused to agree to, and the case was proceeded with. Tobin was found guilty, and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment.*

In revenge for this action on the part of Riles his death was determined upon. On the evening fixed for the murder, James McAllister stepped into Muff Lawler's tavern, and, after taking a drink, told him of what was in contemplation, but did not seem positive as to whether it was Riles or a man named Riley who was to be the victim. Lawler, according to his own account, discouraged any attempt of the kind, and advised James McAllister to have nothing to do with it, for it would be wrong, as both Riles and Riley were respectable men. The two then walked down the street and into the liquor-store of Frank McAndrew, the body-master, and Edward Monaghan, constable of Shenandoah. Several members of the order were there assembled. Lawler claims that he was under suspicion, and did not dare to protest against it. Whilst the matter was under discussion, Lawler and McAllister left.

In the mean time, that evening, Riles and his wife were seated in front of his saloon, which was located in the heart of the town. Just after dark, they observed Ed Monaghan pass in front of them, and then down the other side of the street. In a very short time a number of strange

* He was pardoned early in 1876.

men made their appearance, and fired at Riles, who was severely wounded.

They then attempted to retreat, but Mrs. Riles sprang forward and grasped by the arm one of the ruffians who had fired the shot. He threw her roughly off, but she again sprang forward, and again clung to him. A second time she was thrown violently away, but not before she succeeded in obtaining a full view of his countenance, which was entirely unknown to her.

This occurred early in the evening, in the main street of a large town; as a consequence a crowd soon assembled. The wounded man was carried into Mr. Kendrick's house and properly cared for, but the perpetrators escaped. Riles again recovered; but both his wife and himself had now come to the conclusion that it was impossible longer to live in Shenandoah with any degree of safety. They therefore disposed of their property at a sacrifice and moved West.

That their action was a prudent one may be inferred from a fact sworn to by Muff Lawler. Lawler states that on the morning of the 1st of September following he was informed by Thomas Hurley of an intention to assassinate a boss at Raven's Run, and that in consideration of this Mrs. Riles was to be assassinated. Lawler asserts that he earnestly denounced the contemplated murder, for the reason that the intended victim was a woman, and that he consulted James McKenna on the subject, who said the matter must be stopped.

It may be proper to remark here that months after Riles and his wife had moved West the news of the "Molly" arrests in Schuylkill County reached them. Mrs. Riles resolved to visit Pottsville, in hopes of being able to identify the assassin whose face she had seen. She carried her resolution into execution, and visited the Schuylkill County prison. She passed from cell to cell until she saw Charles McAllister; when she immediately charged him

with the crime. McAllister was at that time waiting trial on a charge for murder. He was also held to answer for assault and battery with intent to kill.*

Whilst the particulars of this assault were not generally known throughout the region, in connection with other crimes quickly following, intense feeling was created in Shenandoah and the surrounding neighborhood.

In Mahanoy City active opposition to the organization had existed for some time. This opposition, whilst without organization, had for its moving spirits generally young Americans.

In Shenandoah the murder of Gomer James, a young Welshman, and the attempted assassination of James Riles, aroused the Welshmen to a feverish state of indignation, shared in by the Americans and sympathized with by the English-German element.

For the next few months this feeling increased in intensity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TAMAQUA CONVENTION—WHO MURDERED GOMER JAMES?—SANGER MURDER ARRANGED—PATRICK BUTLER.

McKENNA, having discovered the particulars of the Gomer James murder, and reported the same to headquarters at Philadelphia, returned to Tamaqua and the fascinations of Miss Mary Ann Hegins. The special policy of McKenna as a lover does not appear; whether he was the gay, rollicking Irish lad, who sang a good song, told a good

* The facts relative to this attempted assassination have been derived from the sworn testimony of Michael Lawler and statements made by Mrs. Riles. Charles McAllister was convicted of assault and battery with intent to kill Riles in November, 1876.

story, and danced a jig, whether "she loved him for the dangers he had passed, and he her that she did pity them," or whether he assumed the subdued and sentimental character, with a touch of blarney, is not known; and upon that point, like an honorable man, he makes no revelations. That he wooed successfully we may be sure; that he had, as a necessity for the accomplishment of his purposes, to give Miss Mary Ann a mistaken idea of his intentions, he deeply and sincerely regrets. McParlan at all times and under all circumstances speaks of Miss Hegins as a good, pure girl, as no doubt she is. She was the excuse that brought him to Tamaqua and kept him there in her society and on the most intimate terms with her brother-in-law, James Kerrigan.

The Yost murder investigations were again resumed. On the 24th of August, Carroll was away from home attending a funeral, and in his absence McKenna attended bar for him. During the afternoon Campbell stopped at the Union House. He referred to the Yost murder, but seemed most anxious relative to the assassination of John P. Jones. He regretted that he could not be present at the convention to be held the next day, in order that he might bring the subject up there. He asked McKenna to attend to the business for him; said that Jimmy Kerrigan had it in hand, but that he was afraid Jimmy would get drunk and neglect to attend to it. McKenna promised to do his best to get men to do the work.

When Carroll came home the Yost murder was again referred to. During the conversation Kerrigan came in and formed one of the party. Both Kerrigan and Carroll again expressed the opinion that it was a "clean job," and that the perpetrators would never be found out. The details of the transaction were again discussed, and the statements which they had formerly made corroborated.

The next day, August 25, the convention called by Jack

Kehoe assembled at Carroll's house. The parallel of this convention is not known in recorded history. In a period of profound peace, in a land governed by just and equitable laws formed by the people, in broad daylight, in the centre of a large town, situate in one of the most wealthy and populous sections of the country, the leaders of a large and powerful organization gathered together, without any attempt at concealment, to consider the proposition of rewarding a cold-blooded, brutal, purposeless assassin; and also to deliberate upon the punishment merited by one of their own members who was suspected of having prevented the accomplishment of the previously planned murder of two unarmed and unsuspecting men.

Those forming this conclave were not animated by even perverted sentiments of patriotism or religion. It was no uprising against arbitrary and unjust laws, for by virtue of the laws even their peaceful assemblage was guaranteed. Gomer James was no tyrant, trampling the rights of an enslaved people under foot, by whose death liberty was to be gained. He was simply a poor young Welshman, defenseless, unarmed, unsuspicious, engaged in no quarrel or brawl, shot down, and without a moment's warning cast into eternity.

That such an act, or, in fact, any of the crimes committed by the organization, should be regarded as heroic passes comprehension. The Thug of India would rob and murder an unsuspecting victim, but the Thug never claimed to be a hero or a subject for admiration. Low, servile, cruel, deceitful, cunning, he was; cowardly and groveling, he admitted it. But the Thug was no more cruel, deceitful, or cunning than the "Molly Maguire," and no Thug or Italian assassin was ever more cowardly; two, three, four, or more were considered necessary to shoot down one unarmed man, and any suspected preparations for protection were sufficient to postpone the enterprise.

Among the very many "Molly" murders committed in the coal region, there never has been one in which the victim has been accorded the least chance for his life, or where the murderers willingly subjected themselves to the slightest danger. And yet they regarded themselves, and were regarded by the association, as heroes. The war-worn veteran was never as boastful of scars obtained in open conflict for the sake of home and country, as were these ruffians of unprovoked murders, committed, as they believed, in perfect safety.

The convention was called to order by John Kehoe, the County Delegate. Different divisions of Schuylkill County were represented by their body-masters and other officers. Besides the officers a number of influential members of the organization were present. Shortly after the opening of the convention a county committee was selected by Kehoe, to whom was to be submitted business affecting the organization. This committee consisted of John Kehoe, County Delegate; Yellow Jack Donahue, Body-master at Tuscarora; Chris Donnelly, County Treasurer; Michael O'Brien, Body-master at Mahanoy City; Frank O'Neill, Secretary of St. Clair Division; Patrick Dolan, Body-master at Big Mine Run; James Roarity, Body-master at Coaldale; McKenna acted as Secretary.

The deliberations of the convention were held with open doors so far as the order was concerned. Three rooms on the second floor of Carroll's house were occupied; one by the committee, one by the witnesses, and the third from time to time by McKenna, who took down in writing different complaints that were made.

The case of John J. Slattery was considered. Jimmy Kerrigan was the nominal prosecutor, but the charges were presented and urged by Yellow Jack Donahue. It was claimed that through Slattery the murder of the two Majors had been prevented; his intimacy with Samuel Major, the

uncle, was urged in proof of the charge, as well as the remarks made by Samuel Major relative to information given him by Slattery as to the feeling of the school board. Slattery entered the plea of "not guilty," but he was regarded with suspicion, and his expulsion by the Tuscarora Division was affirmed.

If Slattery is to be believed (and his story is to some extent corroborated by Charles Mulhearn of the Tuscarora Division), his situation was now critical. His life was in constant danger, and his property threatened with destruction. The feeling of both his wife and himself, at first, was one of relief that his connection with the order had been severed; but this feeling was only momentary, for, understanding as he did the character of the organization, their mode of operations, and the feeling towards himself, he was conscious that his life might be the forfeit of one unguarded minute. He had been warned that he was in danger, and Alec Campbell, a few days after the convention, made it a point to call upon him to say that if he did not succeed in reinstating himself in the order his destruction was certain. He advised that application should be made to Jack Kehoe, the County Delegate. Under the circumstances, Slattery considered the advice good, and, under strong asseverations of his innocence of any attempt to save the Majors, regained his standing in the order.

To return to the convention of the 25th of August. The exciting topic before it was regarding the reward to be paid the murderer of Gomer James. Thomas Hurley was present urging his claim as the murderer. He was accompanied by Frank McAndrew, the body-master, and John Morris,* both members of the Shenandoah Division. McKenna, in the presence of these men, took down the state-

* Convicted of an assault and battery with intent to kill Wm. M. Thomas.

ment in writing, which he then presented to the committee. It was read aloud by Frank Keenan, the body-master of Forestville. The statement was heard by Patrick Butler, the body-master at Lost Creek, who was in an adjoining room. Butler appeared before the committee and asserted that a man named McClain, belonging to his division, had committed the act, and was entitled to the reward. McKenna urged the claims of Hurley. Kehoe stated that for the commission of the act a reward was justly due, but that it was important that the reward should go to the proper party. In this all present acquiesced.

Besides the committee there were present at this time in the room Frank Keenan, Patrick Butler, John Morris, Jeremiah Kane,* body-master at Mount Laffee, and James McKenna. McClain was not present to urge his claim, and in fact had only asserted in a spirit of braggadocio that he had committed the murder.† As there appeared to be an uncertainty as to the real murderer of Gomer James, no fixed reward was settled upon, but James McKenna and Patrick Butler were appointed by the committee to investigate the subject and report. Butler and McKenna thereupon agreed to hold a meeting and hear witnesses on the following Sunday, August 29, in the bush near Shenandoah.

At this time, through the borough authorities of Tamaqua, acting on information derived from the Pinkerton Agency, John P. Jones was on his guard, and a detail of the Coal and Iron Police stayed at his house every night.

McKenna, to be early cognizant of anything that transpired in the matter, encouraged the selection of Frank

*Fugitive from justice, connected with the attempt to assassinate the Majors.

†This was not at all uncommon. A number of instances are known where murder was falsely boasted of for the purpose of gaining increased popularity and social position.

McAndrew, the body-master, to procure the men to commit the murder from the Shenandoah Division.

Jimmy Kerrigan was on the day of the convention full of whisky and determined to effect the murder. Without telling McKenna what he had done, he concluded another arrangement with Jerry Kane, the body-master at Mount Laffee, to furnish men from that division. McKenna, not suspecting this action on the part of Kerrigan, arranged for the contest between McClain and Hurley, determined, if possible, to get at the exact truth of that matter. He understood Hurley thoroughly; he knew that he was a liar and a thief, and wished to obtain as much proof as possible as to who the murderer really was.

On Sunday, the meeting was held according to appointment. Butler and McKenna acted as judges. A number of persons were present, Edward Monaghan, a constable of Shenandoah, among the rest. McClain did not make his appearance; he excused himself afterwards to Butler by saying that he was afraid of Hurley. Hurley was himself present with his witnesses. The fact that he committed the murder was testified to by Thomas and James Welsh, Michael Carey, and a man named Conway. The evidence appeared conclusive. McClain was not there to dispute any points, and Butler and McKenna agreed that Hurley was the fortunate man entitled to the reward. It was determined that a report to this effect be sent to Kehoe, which was accordingly done on the following day (August 30).

It may be proper to state here that no portion of the reward was ever paid to Hurley. The end of the fearful reign of terror was approaching. The power of the "Molly Maguires" was at the culminating point. The darkest of crimes now followed in rapid succession, and others, both in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, as well as in Luzerne, were in contemplation. There never had been in the an-

thracite coal region a member of this organization convicted of murder in the first degree; but the time was close at hand when they would have to enter upon a struggle wherein not only the lives of many of their members would be placed in jeopardy, but the ascendency, nay, the very existence of the order would be threatened with destruction. Confronted with dangers like these, not only were all the available funds of the organization required for purposes of defense, but a demand was also made upon the personal resources of the members, and assistance from abroad was required. In this contest the money claimed by Hurley was absorbed.

To arrange for the murder of John P. Jones, Frank McAndrew, the body-master, called a meeting of the Shenandoah Division, to be held at his house on the 1st of September. This was in pursuance of the arrangement made in Tamaqua on the 25th of August.

McKenna was at this time staying at Fenton Cooney's, his regular boarding-place in Shenandoah. Michael Doyle, who will be remembered as connected with the attempt to assassinate "Bully Bill," was boarding at the same place. He and McKenna were bedfellows. On the morning of the 31st of August, McKenna, upon getting out of bed, saw lying on the wash-stand a new Smith & Wesson pistol, which he knew did not belong to Doyle. Turning to him, he asked, "Where did you get that pistol?" Doyle replied that he had borrowed it from Ned Monaghan; that he and the two O'Donnells and McAllister were going that day to shoot a boss at Raven's Run.

Immediately after breakfast they were in the back-yard together, where they were joined by Tom Hurley. Hurley was at this time still elated with the "clean job" he had made with Gomer James, and assumed airs of superiority. The matter of the contemplated murder was talked over, but the name of the man to be shot was not

mentioned. "A boss at Raven's Run, who would be pointed out," was sufficient information for Doyle. Hurley gave minute directions as to the proper way to shoot a man. He told Doyle to hold his pistol at full cock in his pocket; to walk straight up to his victim and then draw the pistol; to shoot directly through the breast-pocket of his coat. He sneered at the way in which Doyle had acted when they attempted to assassinate "Bully Bill," and accused him of cowardice on that occasion. "Now," he said, "you are going with Friday O'Donnell, and he is a man who will stand no nonsense."

The three then proceeded up the street, Doyle stopping at Lawler's, where, he said, he was to meet some of his party. McKenna and Hurley went on. They soon met Friday O'Donnell, and together they went to Malachi Cleery's liquor-store. O'Donnell there exhibited two pistols, and said that his brother Charles, McAllister, and Doyle were going that day to shoot a mining boss at Raven's Run. He further said that they would work only a half-day, but that the matter of work would be arranged with their "butties," who were friends of the order.

McKenna had not learned the name of the person to be assassinated, but merely that the location of the contemplated murder was at Raven's Run, a small mining town about two miles north from Girardville. Thinking it possible that he might yet give Captain Linden warning, he, in a casual way, asked for him at Malachi Cleery's, which was the point under their arrangement where he would be most likely to hear of it if he was in town. Ascertaining that Captain Linden was not in town, he made a number of fruitless efforts to rid himself of Hurley in order to send a cipher dispatch to Superintendent Franklin, at Philadelphia. But Hurley, either by accident or for some reason, kept him close company.

McKenna expected that the murder would be accom-

plished that day. He did not know of Linden's whereabouts, and was hampered by Hurley. He was, consequently, unable to prevent the perpetration of the crime, and his object now was, in case of its commission, to learn all the details. To do this the best plan was for him to remain at Shenandoah. It was also at that place that the meeting was to be held on the following night to arrange for the murder of John P. Jones.

That McKenna was not before this aware of the contemplated murder was owing not to any want of openness on the part of those having the matter in hand, but to the fact that he had been away from Shenandoah, at Tamaqua and Storm Hill, during the preceding six weeks. There is, perhaps, nothing more noteworthy in the career of McKenna than the success he always had in obtaining the confidence of his associates, and this was probably owing, to a great extent, to the fact that while he manifested interest and sympathy he never seemed to seek for information. He therefore assumed in this instance the same feeling of indifference exhibited by Doyle and Hurley, that it was a matter of but little account who the intended victim was; "a boss at Raven's Run" was a sufficient description, without inquiring into minute particulars. For him to have manifested curiosity would have been to arouse suspicion, so that of necessity he was compelled to await developments and take the chances of gaining more accurate information.

The fact was, that the man to be murdered was Thomas Sanger, and that this murder, with some others never attempted, had been in contemplation for some time. Sanger was a man of good character and of an amiable disposition. He was between thirty and forty years of age, enjoying the esteem and confidence of S. M. Heaton & Co., at whose colliery at Raven's Run he was employed as a boss. He was not known to have an enemy in the world; but it was

afterwards ascertained that, by reason of some act done in the pursuit of his duty, he acquired the ill will of some of the "Mollies," and his death was determined upon. The year previous (1874) Bucky Donnelly took the matter in hand, pointed out Thomas Sanger to Patrick Butler, and said that he wanted him killed. At another interview with Butler, when a man named Patrick Shaw was present, he proposed that the two should commit the act. For some reason they never made the attempt.

For the purpose of showing the difficulties which beset the path of McKenna, and of illustrating not only with what readiness a murder would be conceived, but also how readily it would be abandoned,—in short, the little account in which human life was held,—several incidents in the history of Patrick Butler may here be given.

Patrick Butler, who will be remembered as being on the committee with McKenna to decide to whom belonged the credit of having murdered Gomer James, is a young man who joined the order in August, 1873. He joined the Raven's Run Division, of which Bucky Donnelly was body-master at that time. Donnelly, about six weeks afterwards, notified Butler to meet him at Girardville station and go with him to Mahanoy City, which he did. They were in company with Barney Dolan, then County Delegate of Schuylkill, Larry Crane, and Peter Finneral. When they arrived at Mahanoy City, Butler learned that Philip Nash had "set up a job" to kill a man by the name of Edward Burke. Peter Finneral, a man named McDonough, and Butler, as young members, were selected to commit the murder. After the selection was made and the party had eaten their supper, those not appointed went home, taking Finneral along, he being very drunk. A man named Forfay pointed Burke out to McDonough and Butler. He was sitting at the door in front of his house. They fired at him, but missed him,—Butler says purposely, for they were

angry because Finneral had got drunk and the rest of the party had gone home. The matter was then dropped.

Butler was also with Bucky Donnelly at a large meeting at Shenandoah, assembled for the purpose of making a raid on Jackson's Patch.* Whilst there, Donnelly, out of pure malice, shot off a pistol in such a manner as to make a woman believe that he intended to kill her.

In the year 1874, Bucky Donnelly, Larry Crane, Philip Nash, and Patrick Butler went over to Centralia, in Columbia County, for the purpose of killing a man named McBrierty. This was to oblige Edward Curley, the County Delegate of Columbia. The party, however, got drunk, and returned without accomplishing the purpose of the visit.

Butler succeeded Bucky Donnelly as the body-master of the Raven's Run Division. Whilst holding that position an application was made to him to furnish two men to help kill Captain William Hays and William Rees. An application of the same kind was also made to Philip Nash, body-master at Girardville. For some reason the men were not furnished. Joseph Rees was afterwards attacked at Shenandoah, but was not injured.

The cases just cited constitute only a part of those in which Butler and Donnelly were engaged since the autumn of 1873, but they are sufficient for the purpose of illustration.

When it is taken into consideration how many parties there were—all equally criminal—who needed watching; that a spirit of braggadocio was abroad in the order; that murders were openly discussed; that the darkest of crimes would be suggested for the mere gratification of a whim, and that a contemplated murder would often be abandoned with the same readiness with which it had been conceived,

* This meeting is described in another place.

it can readily be understood how the detective might waste much valuable time in useless work. The air was filled with the talk of murders and other outrages, and it required calm, deliberate judgment and nice discrimination to learn where real danger existed. Through the instrumentality of McParlan the lives of a number of those consigned to death were saved, but it was one man against a host, and the assassins themselves were so confident of immunity from punishment that they murdered with scarcely an attempt at concealment.

CHAPTER XIX.

MURDER OF SANGER AND UREN—McPARLAN ON A COMMITTEE TO MURDER JONES—MURDER OF JONES BY OTHER PARTIES —FLIGHT OF THE ASSASSINS.

THE murder of Thomas Sanger was not attempted on the 31st of August, as McKenna had been informed it would be. It was a "job" of Bucky Donnelly's, and had been arranged under the auspices and with the encouragement of Jack Kehoe, who seemed to be ready and anxious for any murder that might be proposed. About ten o'clock that night the two O'Donnells, James McAllister, and Michael Doyle were joined by Thomas Munley at Gilberton.

Munley is about thirty years of age, and was the oldest man of the five. It is said that it was the intention that a younger brother of Munley's should go, but he being sick, Thomas went in his stead. A portion of the evening the party passed with Jack Kehoe, at Girardville, where the matter of the contemplated murder was discussed. From Kehoe's they went to Anthony Munley's, at Dane's Patch,

and from Munley's they proceeded to Bucky Donnelly's house, at Raven's Run, where they remained during the night.

As early as six o'clock on the morning of the 1st of September, 1875, the five men were at the colliery of S. M. Heaton & Co. They had taken the precaution to exchange clothing and hats, with the exception of Michael Doyle, who had borrowed from McKenna the coat which he wore. The only other attempt at concealment was the drawing of the hats down over the face as far as possible, and raising the coat-collars. From half-past six o'clock until a quarter to seven the men were gathering ready to go to work. About this time in the neighborhood of one hundred men and boys had collected. The five men were noticed by a number of the workmen, but very little was said to them. At about a quarter to seven o'clock Thomas Sanger came out of his house and walked towards the mines, intending to set the men to work. He was accompanied by a young man named William Uren. They were met by James, or Friday, O'Donnell, who stepped towards Sanger and shot him. Sanger turned and ran. Uren attempted to interfere in his behalf, when he also was shot by O'Donnell. Uren then ran towards the engine-house, O'Donnell pursuing Sanger.

In the mean time the remaining four commenced firing right and left, threatening the remainder of the workmen, who fled panic-stricken. Whether the flight was encouraged or led by those in sympathy with the murderers, it is impossible to tell. That over one hundred men and boys should give way to four is not so remarkable as it at first appears, when it is considered that the four men were armed and presented a determined front, whilst to the larger number the whole affair was unexpected, and no one was prepared to head the others in resistance.

Thomas Munley, seeing Sanger running away, ran for-

ward to head him off. He met him near a house occupied by the family of Robert Weevil, when he also shot him. Sanger then ran into Weevil's house. The five ruffians retreated to the mountains. Robert Heaton, one of the proprietors of the colliery, had just finished his breakfast, and was seated on his front porch, when he heard the firing. He ran as fast as possible towards Weevil's house. He saw two of the party running towards the mountain. He commenced firing at them, and his fire was returned. It took but a few moments, however, to exhaust the charges in his revolver. He had not succeeded in hitting any of the fugitives, and did not recognize in them any one he knew.

Sanger was shot in the arm, a flesh-wound, and in the right groin. He died in a few minutes, in the arms of his agonized wife, whose side he had just left in perfect health and with apparent prospect of long life. William Uren was also shot in the right groin. He lingered some hours longer, but his recovery was from the first regarded as hopeless,—the ball had passed into the abdomen.

In the mean time, McKenna was anxiously waiting at Shenandoah to hear what had been done. On the morning of the 1st of September he went down to Muff Lawler's, where he found Tom Hurley. The conversation was on the proposed murder. Muff had been injured in the mines, and could only move with great difficulty. Hurley here again expressed the opinion that Doyle would have to behave better than he had done in the case of Bully Bill; that Friday O'Donnell was not the man to stand nonsense; that he would fix him. This was about eight o'clock.

At this time the five men who had committed the murder at Raven's Run came into Lawler's, Michael Doyle leading the way. They all looked overheated, and were very much excited. They first had a drink of water, and then took whisky all around. The murder at Raven's Run was narrated, each one of the party anxious to tell his own

share. Doyle said it was all right. Friday O'Donnell said it was a "clean job;" they had killed two, when they only expected to kill one. Friday said he had fired the first shot, when the second man interfered, and then he had shot him. Munley said he had fired at and hit the first man as he was going into a house. Charles O'Donnell, Doyle, and McAllister said they had been firing and frightening the people, and could not get up to the two others until the job was done.

James O'Donnell then spoke of a man firing at Munley and himself, and of their returning the fire. Doyle said the man who had fired at them was named Heaton, and that he was one of the proprietors. McKenna now learned for the first time that the name of the boss they had gone to kill was Thomas Sanger. None of the party seemed to know or care who the other was. Each man seemed anxious to tell the story his own way. They described how they had changed their hats and clothing before the murder, and changed back again before coming over the mountain to Shenandoah. They examined their pistols; Charles O'Donnell and McAllister at first thought they had best leave their navy revolvers with Muff Lawler to take care of for them, and gave them to him for that purpose. They, however, changed their minds and took them back. After the party had taken about four drinks apiece, the O'Donnells and McAllister started for their home at Wiggan's Patch.

Munley, Doyle, Hurley, and McKenna then went up to Tobin's ball-alley, where Hurley and Doyle played for the beer, McKenna keeping the game and Munley looking on. About half-past twelve o'clock Munley started for his home at Gilberton, on his way going up-street with McKenna. As they separated, Munley remarked that as there was to be a meeting of Shenandoah Division that night, he would be over. The incidents of the morning, together with the liquor he had drunk, excited Munley. He was boastful

and quarrelsome. After he arrived at home he had a disturbance with his wife, flourished his pistol, and fired it off in the house, the ball lodging in a partition.

As might naturally be expected, these murders following so quickly after the others before narrated created intense excitement. Notwithstanding the fearful outrage had been perpetrated in the presence of a large number of people that morning, the criminals were either not known to any one, or the terrorism prevailing prevented their exposure, and many months passed under the general belief that two more victims of "Molly" outrage had passed into eternity and the strong arm of the law was apparently powerless. The vigilance committee, as it is believed, sprang into existence, and in the course of time retaliation commenced; but the civil authorities were silent, and a general fear was felt and expressed that a system of laws which in civilized lands had received the indorsement of centuries was here utterly powerless.

On the evening of the 1st of September the Shenandoah Division held a meeting at the house of Frank McAndrew, the body-master. Notices of the time of meeting had been given on the day preceding. There were present Frank McAndrew, Thomas Munley, Michael Darcy, John Morris, Thomas Hurley, John McGrail, Edward Monaghan, and James McKenna. Edward Sweeny came in, but, as his dues were not paid up, he was requested to leave. The murder of John P. Jones was considered. Thomas Munley and Michael Darcy volunteered to go. John McGrail and James McKenna were appointed in addition by the body-master. They were requested to leave the next morning. McKenna, having in view the giving notice to Captain Linden and Superintendent Franklin, suggested that he should go ahead for a day or two to prepare matters. This was satisfactory to John McGrail, who said he had business in Shenandoah, which he would have

to attend to the next day, but he would be ready the day following. Munley and Darcy both advocated going at once. Munley said he had his hand in now (referring to his share in the murder of Sanger and Uren), and he was going right then. The arrangement was finally made that Munley and Darcy should get cartridges for the pistols at Mahanoy City, and join McKenna the next morning on the train at that place, to go with him to Tamaqua. McGrail was to be telegraphed for when needed. At this meeting the murder of Sanger and Uren was openly discussed, Munley assuming the same boastful manner that he had in the morning at Muff Lawler's.

The arrangement, so far as relates to the murder of John P. Jones, had been worked by McKenna according to a preconcerted plan. It had been understood between Captain Linden and himself that he would, if possible, get on the committee and so delay matters that if, in the end, the affair should be attempted to be consummated, all parties should be arrested.

Wm. D. Zehner, superintendent of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company at Landsford, had been warned by Beard and Shepp, of Tamaqua, prior to this, not only of the intended murder of John P. Jones, but also of a similar attempt to be made on himself, in exchange for the murder of a gentleman at Jeddo, Luzerne County. He had consulted with Mr. Parrish, the president of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, who was much excited on the question, and had given instructions to spare no expense or trouble to secure the safety of all parties.

Mr. Jones had slept, for several weeks prior to this time, at Mr. Zehner's house, at Landsford, under guard of Coal and Iron policemen.

McKenna started on the 2d of September for Tamaqua on the seven o'clock train, and was joined, as per arrangement, by Munley and Darcy at Mahanoy City. On ar-

riving at Tamaqua, they proceeded at once to Carroll's, but found that he was out of town. McKenna then went pretending to look for Kerrigan,—really to make out his report,—and reported not being successful in his search. He suggested that without Kerrigan the matter could proceed no further, and told Munley and Darcy to return home and wait for a telegraph from him. To this they agreed, and left for Mahanoy Valley that afternoon. McKenna was now satisfied that the attempt to murder was delayed for the time being, if not forever. He was much surprised to learn from Carroll, after his return about ten o'clock that night, that two men sent by Jerry Kane had come over from Mount Laffee the preceding evening and were already at Storm Hill; that the probabilities were that John P. Jones was already killed. It was then too late to give further notice, and McKenna could only hope that his previous warnings had proved effectual.

It appears that at the meeting at Carroll's on the 25th of August, Jerry Kane, body-master of Mount Laffee Division (near Pottsville), had been spoken to. He was just as willing to procure men to kill John P. Jones as he had himself been to assassinate the Majors at the request of Chris. Donnelly, and proceeded to arrange the matter shortly after the convention. He called a meeting of his division, stated the object, and two men were drawn by lot, one being Edward Kelly, and the other a married man, a resident of Mount Laffee. Kelly was a young man, considered of kindly impulses and nature, and, except in being a "Molly," regarded as of good character. He accepted the situation at once. But the fact that the other was a married man with a family excited the sympathies of young Michael J. Doyle, who, in a spirit of enthusiasm, and, as he imagined, heroism, offered to take his place. Michael J. Doyle is a young man, not over twenty-five years of age. He has been well brought up. In his boy-

hood he was regarded as amiable and kind-hearted. His early associates speak of him in high terms. His habits and character were regarded as good. Yet both Doyle and Kelly were, under the influence of this organization, ready, willing, and anxious to slay a fellow-being in cold blood whom they had never seen and against whom they had no ill feeling, and to regard themselves as heroes and worthy of praise and admiration for so doing.

Furnished with a letter to James Carroll, and wearing badges of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, they arrived at Tamaqua on the 1st of September, 1875. Carroll at once sent for Kerrigan, and asked him to conduct them to Storm Hill to Alec Campbell. Kerrigan objected, on the ground that he had work to do that night. Carroll, however, insisted, and Jimmy, without much urging, consented.

They arrived at Storm Hill in the evening, and went immediately to Campbell's. Kerrigan introduced his companions, Kelly and Doyle, and told him that they were the parties sent over to kill Jones. Campbell expressed gratification at seeing them, and said he would take them up to McGeehan's saloon on Summit Hill; which he did. On arriving at McGeehan's, Campbell remarked that the murder should be committed as soon as possible, but that as Mulhall was now at home from Tuscarora, he must notify him to keep out of the way, so he should not be suspected. He also advised McGeehan to go home early that night, so that his whereabouts could readily be accounted for.

Several pistols were now produced, among others the black pistol, belonging to Roarity, which McGeehan had used to kill Yost. McGeehan examined and oiled the pistols, in order to have them in good condition. In one of the pistols the cartridges used were rather large for the bore. McGeehan in endeavoring to drive one of the cartridges tightly into place exploded it, the ball imbedding

itself in the bar counter. Neither Kerrigan, Kelly, nor Doyle knew John P. Jones, and his personal appearance and manner of dress were described by Campbell. It was then understood that the party next day should appear as if in search of work, and, if any favorable opportunity should offer itself, conclude the job. Campbell first left, and between ten and eleven o'clock that night McGeehan also went to his boarding-house, leaving the key of his saloon with the three strangers to lock themselves in. The next day Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly wandered from point to point in that neighborhood. They saw John P. Jones, but, according to their opinion, had no favorable opportunity to accomplish their design. That night they stopped with Campbell. He was disposed to blame Kerrigan that the deed was not already done, and thought that it might still be done that evening. Kelly and Doyle, at his suggestion, stationed themselves near the front of Jones's house, where they were observed by a number of persons. There were several meetings that evening in town, and it was supposed that Jones might go to one or the other of them. Finding that he did not make his appearance, the matter was deferred until morning.

The balance of the evening was spent in drinking in Campbell's saloon,—parties passing in and out. When the conspirators were alone, Campbell discussed the situation with them. He said that the murder of Jones would be a glorious thing; that they could shoot him at any place, and that no one would tell; that they should be careful to put not only one, but several balls in him; that if it were not for the society and the dropping of an odd man off once in a while, there would be no such thing as living there. He said, further, there would be no difficulty in their getting away; no one would dare to tell on them even if they should be known. Campbell is a man of decided ability, money-making, but fond of power, and ambitious.

It is said that he had high hopes in the order, looking beyond mere county influence. Like Jack Kehoe, he was aware of the fact that he increased his influence among his associates by the advocacy of bold and daring measures. He, however, understood the importance to his business of controlling the bosses, either through friendship or fear. He was perhaps the man of the greatest natural ability among the "Mollies" of the anthracite coal regions, and his influence was continually and persistently for evil. He could not make the order more diabolical than it already was, but, like Jack Kehoe, he sought to influence the devils who possessed it.

Between Tamaqua and Mauch Chunk lay a cluster of small towns. On the Nesquehoning branch of the Jersey Central Railroad there is Coaldale, the residence of James Roarity. A mile or two to the east, and on the line of the same road, is Landsford. This was the residence of Wm. D. Zehner, one of the superintendents of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company. A short distance from Landsford, and an extension of the same place, away from the railroad, is the village of Storm Hill, the home of John P. Jones. Near this is Ashton, where Alec Campbell had his store, and still farther on, at the top of the mountain, Summit Hill, the western depot of the celebrated Switchback Railroad.

John P. Jones, for the first time in several weeks, on the night of the 2d of September slept in his own house. A little after seven o'clock on the morning of the 3d, after taking his breakfast and chatting with his family, he quietly started for the superintendent's office, near the Landsford depot. The train from Tamaqua was about due, and nearly one hundred people, railroad men and employés of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, were near by. No time would seem more inopportune for a deed of murder and outrage. He was in the midst of busy life and sur-

rounded by his friends. Yet so emboldened had an unchecked course of crimes committed by the "Molly" organization rendered the assassins, that this was the moment chosen for the perpetration of their fiendish act. Two strange men suddenly appeared, and commenced firing repeatedly but quickly. The advice of Campbell was followed: several balls were lodged in the body of their unfortunate victim. So sudden and unexpected was the occurrence, that before such an attempt at crime could be realized, much less prevented, the murderers had disappeared, leaving behind them the disfigured corse of John P. Jones in the midst of a crowd of people almost panic-stricken in their intense surprise.

This foul act realized, the wildest excitement prevailed. Just at this time the Tamaqua train arrived, and the passengers, joining the excited throng, were at once imbued with the prevailing indignation. Mr. Zehner, however, acted coolly and promptly. He had in his possession a number of fire-arms, and, quickly selecting men with judgment and care, he sent them towards Tamaqua on railroad trucks, with directions so to station themselves as to intercept the criminals, if possible, in their retreat.

In a very short time the news reached Tamaqua, and that place was at once the theatre of wild excitement, indignation, and a bitter feeling of revenge. Business was almost suspended. Knots of men gathered together, discussing the terrible tragedy that had just occurred. The feeling that any help, except through the meeting of lawless acts committed by wrong-doers by lawless acts of good citizens, was gaining ground. In other words, the vigilance committee was openly advocated as being the only hope for safety.

But little Jimmy Kerrigan understood the country well, and, in the first instance, marked his course with judgment. By taking unfrequented roads and by-paths he

managed to elude all the scouts sent out, and took his party safely past Tamaqua, and fairly on the road to Tuscarora and Pottsville. Had he, when he got them to Tamaqua, kept to the mountain himself and separated from Kelly and Doyle, they could with perfect safety have walked the main street of the town and through the excited crowd. They would not have been known, and could have taken the cars to Pottsville without suspicion or annoyance.

Or if Kerrigan, without stopping, had conducted them to Tuscarora, they would have been in the midst of the order,—Yellow Jack Donahue, John J. Slattery, Charley Mulhearn, and others,—who could very readily have got them on to Pottsville and from thence home.

But Jimmy Kerrigan's hospitality overcame his judgment. After he had got them past Tamaqua he felt that they were safe, and, nearing his house, which was to the west of the town, he left them in the bush and went home to bring them whisky and something to eat.

That rest in the bush, that act of hospitality of Kerrigan's, was fatal to "Molly" ascendency. During that pause their arrest was made by one of those strange chances, hereafter narrated, that would seem to indicate the control of an absolute and invisible power. A knowledge of "Molly" crimes and "Molly" criminals was in the possession of some parties, but, under the agreement that the detective should not appear as a witness, proof of guilt was very difficult. Had Kelly and Doyle reached Mount Laffee in safety, their identification would have been next to impossible, and John P. Jones would have been but one more in the long line of "Molly" victims unavenged.

In the events immediately succeeding this murder, circumstances have so combined in the complete exposure of crime, the punishment of criminals, and the destruction of this damnable organization, as to indicate even to the avowed skeptic the hand of an overruling Providence.

CHAPTER XX.

ARREST OF KERRIGAN, DOYLE, AND KELLY—THEIR LIVES THREATENED.

It will be borne in mind that at the time the events last detailed occurred, a knowledge of the perpetrators of many a foul and bloody outrage was in the possession of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq., the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, and that evidence was being gathered as fast as practicable to render the conviction of criminals sure without calling in the detective. It will also be remembered that Daniel Shepp and Michael Beard had themselves guaranteed the payment to the Pinkerton Agency of the expenses of the investigation of the Yost murder. It was known to Beard, Shepp, and some others, through that investigation, that there was an intention to kill John P. Jones and other parties, but it was believed that these designs could be frustrated.

The full particulars of the Yost murder were at this time thoroughly understood, and the position occupied by Kerrigan was also known. When the news, therefore, reached Tamaqua of the murder committed at Landsford, inquiries were at once set on foot to learn the whereabouts of Kerrigan.

Nevertheless, the discovery was made by an accident. Young Samuel Beard, a law student in the office of Conrad Shindle, Esq., had, with a companion, that morning ridden over to Landsford on the cars. He had seen the murdered man directly after he had been shot, and was among the first to bring the news to Tamaqua. He was, of course, restless and excited, and could not content himself in the

office. On the street the murder was the topic of conversation, and among other remarks a man named William Parkenson stated, in the hearing of young Beard, that he had just seen Jimmy Kerrigan, with two strange men, to the west of the town.

Beard had obtained an inkling of the true character of Kerrigan; and it immediately occurred to him that these men might be the murderers. Picking up a small field- or spy-glass which was lying in the office, he, with a friend named George Priser, proceeded at once to the Odd-Fellows' Cemetery, situate on a hill to the west of the town, where they concealed themselves, and with the spy-glass examined the surrounding country.

Their efforts were rewarded. Jimmy Kerrigan soon showed himself, and, upon his waving his handkerchief as a signal, the two other men made their appearance. The three then moved to a spring on the side of the mountain, where they sat down, not manifesting any intention of going immediately away. Young Beard, leaving Priser to continue the watch, cautiously made his way out of the cemetery and then hurriedly down into the town.

He was anxious to capture the party, but to take no one along for that purpose except such as could be trusted. He took his elder brother, John Beard, into his councils, and the two together began to muster a force. Wallace Guss, a bank officer, was called away from his business. He came armed with a navy revolver. William Allebaugh also joined, armed with a gun. Mike, the hostler at Beard's hotel, was a willing recruit.

This occupied some time, and fear was felt that Kerrigan and party had left the spring. The party thus collected, in their movements up-street, attracted attention; word was spread abroad of their mission, and before they reached the upper end of the town their number had increased to twenty or twenty-five. Here they were met by young

Priser, who, becoming impatient at the long absence of Beard, had called another young man, named William E. Hendricks, into the service, to whom he had given the spy-glass. Priser reported that Kerrigan and his party were still in the bush at the spring.

It was now thought best to approach them from two directions. Kerrigan was well known, but if before their approach the strangers could succeed in getting down to the railroad and mixing with other men, their escape was possible. Wallace Guss, with several others, made a short cut to the spring over the hill, whilst the Beards, Allebaugh, and the rest of the party passed up the main road. When at about twenty yards' distance pursuers and pursued recognized the presence of each other. Kerrigan approached Guss and his party, whilst Kelly and Doyle moved off at a quick walk in another direction. Guss called to Kerrigan, telling him to hold up his hands, that it was the other men, and not him, they wanted. Kerrigan replied, "I would not hurt you, Wallace."

To prevent a sudden shot from a concealed pistol, the order to hold up his hands was insisted upon, and a quick movement was made after the two retreating men, whom they directed to stop. In the mean time, Allebaugh and the others appeared lower down the hill, and within easy shooting distance of the fugitives. Doyle, turning, said that he knew his rights and the law, and that he would not be stopped in such a way. Guss again told him that they must turn down to the railroad, or they would be killed by the party below.

The criminals by this time, seeing escape was impossible, made a virtue of necessity, and quietly surrendered themselves. A pistol and a billy were found two days afterwards secreted a short distance from the spring. The arrested men were at once, under guard of a strong force, marched into the town.

Mike, the hostler, who is not very familiar with the use of fire-arms, marched directly behind Doyle. He was awkwardly playing with his pistol, and continually snapping it near Doyle's back. Doyle naturally was nervous, and said to him, "You had better take care, or you will shoot me." Mike hardly manifested the proper degree of horror at the idea, and grumbled out something to the effect that he would not die of grief if he did.

Kerrigan, Kelly, and Doyle were put in the lock-up, about the centre of Tamaqua, and near the rear of Beard's hotel. The badges of the Ancient Order of Hibernians were found on Kelly and Doyle, and from them a portion of a letter to Carroll obtained. The crowd had gradually gathered in the main street in the neighborhood of Beard's hotel. This was about twelve o'clock, and with each succeeding moment the excitement grew more intense. The news of the capture very soon reached Carbon County, and a number of the Coal and Iron Police, accompanied by a crowd of angry Welshmen from the neighborhood of Summit Hill, made their appearance.

The prisoners were recognized by several persons as having been seen in the neighborhood of Storm Hill and Landsford the day previous, and as with each succeeding recognition the identification became more positive, wilder and wilder grew the excitement. The murmur ran through the crowd that the lock-up should be forced open and the prisoners lynched. Angry expressions were rife that the law, as to them, would prove as powerless as in the many preceding cases. At this juncture of affairs, John Painter, Deputy Sheriff of Carbon, arrived, and demanded the prisoners, in order to take them to the Mauch Chunk jail. As there was no question of the fact that the murder had been committed in Carbon County, the demand was granted, and the prisoners passed into the hands of the Carbon County authorities.

A train of open cars was in waiting at what is known as the New York depot, at Tamaqua, to remove the prisoners. This point is about one-third of a mile from Beard's hotel. The prisoners passed this distance under charge of Sheriff Painter and a squad of Coal and Iron Policemen. The crowd now assembled numbered over fifteen hundred angry men, mostly armed. To render the position of the prisoners still more insecure, the guard were as much exasperated as was the mob by which they were surrounded. The guard were mostly Welshmen, of the same nationality as John P. Jones. They not only had personal acquaintance with and respect for the murdered man, but they bore him personal love, and, whilst mourning for him, their hearts were filled with pitying tenderness for a bereaved wife and an interesting family cast unprotected on the world.

The click of pistols was heard in every direction; oaths and execrations marked every step of the progress of the party towards the cars. The police demanded order, but that magnetism which all know, but no one can fully understand, rendered it a patent fact that the miserable men could be torn to pieces, limb from limb, and not one in that assemblage give even a pitying glance. Only a spark was needed to create an explosion, and all knew that whatever outrage might be committed upon those prisoners, the law of public opinion would save the perpetrators from punishment.

That no riot did occur is a flattering commentary upon the deep respect for law and order which characterizes the masses of the residents of the coal region.

Only two days before the present tragedy, Thomas Sanger and William Uren had been brutally murdered, and the assassins had escaped. Two weeks before, Squire Gwither had been shot down on the public streets of Girardville because he had dared to issue a warrant against a Molly, and the murderer was still at large. Two weeks before, on the

same day, in the presence of a large number of people, Gomer James had been openly shot at a picnic, and yet no one would tell who committed the act. Within two months, Policeman Yost, an official of their own town, had been shot whilst in the discharge of his duties, and the deed seemed clothed in mystery. The last of a series of brutal outrages had just been committed, and the assassins, fresh from the scene of blood, had fallen into their power. Long years of suffering, from the horrors of which no relief had appeared possible, were recalled to mind, and the recollection tended to inflame the masses of the people. The concentrated hate against the whole "Molly" organization rose against these three men. They were the first criminals arrested whose conviction seemed possible. It was not only the substratum of society, those who from want of proper education and training could not be expected to hold in due regard the machinery of the law, who were aroused, but all, the rich and the poor, the official of influence and the hewer of wood and drawer of water, felt that redress must come in some way; if not by due course of law, then by the strong arm of unorganized force. Had this murder occurred in the Far West, on the Pacific coast, the nearest tree would have afforded a means for the execution of the sentence of Judge Lynch. Had summary vengeance been inflicted, the moral sentiment of the community would have revolted at the deed, but a long-suffering people, whilst not approving, would never have demanded the punishment of the offenders.

The prisoners had escaped present danger. Out of Tamaqua they passed with life and limbs in safety. They left behind them a mob of wildly-excited men, who, though strongly tempted, had yet submitted to the supremacy of the law. But they were speeding onward to the home of the murdered John P. Jones. At that point the feelings of the people had been worked up beyond all restraint.

There lay the disfigured corse, surrounded by a weeping family. From there the news had spread through a thickly-populated country, and from all quarters came hosts of friends,—outraged, angered, revengeful.

Word came to them of the mob assembled at Tamaqua, and the hope was openly expressed on all sides that the murderers had already answered with their lives for the crime they had that morning committed. A telegram announced that the prisoners had left Tamaqua alive. It was received with a yell of dissatisfaction. Preparations were at once made to do effective work at Landsford. Where the murder had been committed, there should the murder be avenged. A mob gathered around the Landsford depot, each moment becoming more excited. But there was arrangement and fixed purpose. Immediately on the arrival of the train the unhappy men were to be seized and instantly killed.

Too much credit cannot be given William D. Zehner, the superintendent of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, for his presence of mind on this occasion. His feelings were as much aroused as those of any one present. He had had intimate business and social intercourse with the man now murdered, and he also knew that the "Molly" was lying in wait to take his own life. But he felt the responsibility of his position; he foresaw the entire disorganization of society in that neighborhood which would follow the lynching of these men, and he determined to pass them on in safety if possible.

The Landsford depot is situated near the western entrance of the Nesquehoning tunnel. The depot building before which the train usually stops is located on a small branch of the main track. Around the depot the mob had assembled, waiting the arrival of the prisoners.

The train came in sight. The prey was apparently within reach, when, with a wild yell of disappointment, they saw

it fly down the main track and into the tunnel. Unobserved by them, under Mr. Zehner's direction, the railroad switch had been turned. The murderers were still safe.

At Mauch Chunk the general public had received no news of the expected arrivals. Telegraphic information on that point was not permitted. As a consequence, the arrested men were taken from the cars and to the 'squire's office for commitment without difficulty. But the news spread in an incredibly short space of time. A mob again assembled, and a new danger threatened. Cries of "kill them!" "hang them!" came from all sides. But better counsels prevailed. General Albright and General Lilly claimed to be heard, and both addressed the crowd. They accomplished their purpose. The mob reluctantly yielded, and, amidst curses and execrations, the prison-doors closed on Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly as yet unharmed.

That these prisoners have been left to the judgment of legal tribunals, that the madness of the hour did not then rule, the coal regions and the world have reason to be thankful. Owing to the safe transportation of the prisoners to Mauch Chunk that day, and their commitment to prison there, the era of the supremacy of law has dawned more quickly than could have been possible had mob law prevailed. With the arrest and imprisonment of Kerrigan, Kelly, and Doyle, the end of the "Molly" reign approached.

As might naturally be expected, during this scene of excitement, McKenna sought the points where he could best obtain information. He had, however, by this time become known to a number of people in Tamaqua, and was regarded with suspicion as being a leading "Molly."

He was in more danger than he was himself aware, not only during this day, but in the weeks immediately succeeding. Shortly after the news of the murder reached Tamaqua, a crowd clustered on the pavement in front of a

drug-store, engaged in the discussion of the absorbing topic. McKenna was in the store, and was observed to be listening with interest to everything that was said. Attention being called to that fact, the crowd, regarding him with looks of hatred, moved to another point.

He was now anxious to obtain evidence which would render the conviction of the prisoners sure, and for so doing his open and avowed attachment to Miss Mary Ann Hegins was of great service. It rendered him, however, a subject of still greater dislike to the citizens of Tamaqua. He desired not only to learn the details of the line of defense that would be adopted, which he knew of course would be an "alibi," but also to possess himself of all evidence, documentary and otherwise, that would tend to commit the prisoners, without himself appearing on the witness-stand.

The officers of the law appeared at Kerrigan's house with a search-warrant when McKenna was present. This was too favorable an opportunity for him to let pass without showing his devotion not only to the interest of the "Molly Maguires" but also to the special charms of Miss Hegins. The constables were, of course, in the strict line of their duty, but that did not save them from a tirade of abuse from the family, in which McKenna, with great zeal, joined, at such invasion of the rights of the citizen. Such a torrent of invective poured from his lips that their patience was exhausted, and he was told that their acts were not his business. He insisted that it was well for them it was not in his house they were; nevertheless, he said, he had rights,—that he was paying attention to Kerrigan's sister-in-law, and he did not intend to let them act in the manner they were doing without his resenting it. The officers found nothing of importance, but the interest he manifested induced the family to give him all the papers in their possession to take care of. McKenna proved to the

world that whatever might be the troubles of James Kerrigan, neither his love nor interest in the family could be shaken by their misfortunes. He displayed his devotion in an open manner when in Tamaqua. On a Sunday he accompanied his lady-love to church, and he was always ready with sympathy, counsel, and advice.

Whilst this course of conduct on the part of McKenna increased the assurance already felt by the family in his disinterested attachment and induced the fullest confidence, it added to the dislike felt for him by many of the citizens of Tamaqua, by whom he was noticed, and inspired the suspicion that he was himself connected with the frequent murders of the past few months. He was regarded by many as having escaped the meshes of the law, and the question was discussed among some as to whether the ends of justice would not be subserved by a bullet, as quick and sure as that of the "Molly" but sped by a different hand. So wide-spread had this feeling become, that an inkling of it reached the ears of Michael Beard and Daniel Shepp. The feelings of both of these gentlemen were deeply excited against the "Molly" organization; but they were loyal citizens, regarding with deep respect the sanctity of the law. On this account they severally, whenever and wherever practicable, counseled against its flagrant violation. To render their actions in this behalf the more earnest, it will be remembered that whilst no confidence had been extended to them by Mr. Franklin, of the Pinkerton Agency, as to the instrument employed, they knew a detective was in their midst, and some circumstances had engendered a suspicion in their minds that McKenna might be the man.

The danger in which the detective was placed can well be conceived. He was in a town in which the very great majority of the citizens held themselves as entirely exempt from "Molly" influence and control and were under

intense excitement at the outrages committed. The frequency of the murders at the collieries, and in more strictly mining towns, had to some extent rendered them familiar; but the shooting of Policeman Yost in the public streets, and the open, defiant manner of the more recent murders, had inspired a fear that no place was secure.

It is no wonder, therefore, that McKenna should be regarded with intense dislike. From the nature of his business, he was obliged not only to be an avowed "Molly," but also to display openly his sympathy with the murderers. This he also displayed by his association with the family of Kerrigan, and in companionship with those looked upon with the most suspicion, when visiting Tamaqua. It is probable that the knowledge of the fact that there was a detective in the coal region, which was now possessed by quite a number of persons, and the possibility of his being the man, may have saved McKenna's life.

But whilst McKenna, the "Molly," was increasing the confidence in which he was held by his associates and becoming detested by the better class of citizens, McParlan, the detective, had won golden opinions from those aware of the valuable information that he had given. His discovery of the Yost murderers, and others in contemplation, was known, among others, to Charles Parrish, president of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company.

To Mr. Gowen belongs the credit of having inaugurated measures and consistently persisted in a policy which has, it is hoped, broken the power of the "Molly" organization; but there has been no more earnest and efficient assistance than that rendered by the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, under the lead of Mr. Parrish, its president. Money, time, labor, skill, and earnest attention have been freely offered and devoted to this end. When Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly were arrested, under the direction of this company, no effort was spared not

only to collect all possible evidence as to the guilt of those prisoners, but also to render available the clue offered to discover the criminals of the past.

But the power of organized capital, combined with the vast machinery of the Pinkerton Agency, has its limits. Shortly after the murder of John P. Jones, Mr. Parrish, in conversation with Mr. Franklin, requested that a half-dozen additional detectives such as the one at Tamaqua should be sent into the coal regions. "For a million of dollars I can't send one at present," answered Franklin; "it has taken years to give him his present position, and his equal in other respects is by no means common. Whatever agencies we may possess are at your command; but we cannot send a first-class detective of this kind at a day's notice."

It was true: men of the rare combination of qualities possessed by McParlan are not procured on demand.

Upon the life and safety of the rough-looking "Molly" who loafed at Jim Carroll's and courted the sister-in-law of the murderer James Kerrigan depended to a great extent the future of the anthracite coal region.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MOLLY AS A POLITICIAN—THE ELECTION OF 1875.

THE arrest of Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly created some uneasiness among the whole body of "Molly Maguires" throughout the anthracite coal-fields, but not that alarm which, under the circumstances, might reasonably be expected. It was true that even in their view a formidable case would be presented on behalf of the Commonwealth;

but past experience in desperate cases had given them abiding faith in the power of an "alibi." The character of the alibi was soon determined upon, and a number of the witnesses quickly selected. No difficulty was anticipated in obtaining all that might be required.

Alec Campbell, immediately after the arrests were made, was much agitated, and denounced Kerrigan's mismanagement after so "clean a job" had been done. He should have had no difficulty in taking the perpetrators back to Mount Laffee. Campbell was, however, at once ready with a plan to raise money to employ counsel, and had settled upon the exact nature of the defense. His method of obtaining money was to call upon the organization in Carbon County to do its utmost, and to ask aid from other coal-region counties. He was ready himself to make great personal sacrifices.

To account for Kerrigan's absence from Tamaqua, witnesses were to be produced showing that he had on the 2d of September been at Yorktown, Luzerne County, attending a funeral, from which he only returned on the 3d, after the commission of the murder. So far as Doyle and Kelly were concerned, a large number of witnesses were to prove their presence in Pottsville and Mount Laffee at such an hour on the morning of the day of the assassination as to render their commission of the crime impossible.

He was himself to look after Kerrigan's witnesses, whilst Jerry Kane, the body-master of Mount Laffee, and parties about Pottsville were to attend to the details in obtaining witnesses for Doyle and Kelly.

Of the storm soon to burst upon their heads no one had the slightest conception, and least of all had the "Mollies." In the month of August, at a court held in Schuylkill County, Patrick Conroy, ex County Commissioner and "Molly Maguire," Moses Hine and Valentine Benner, then Commissioners, had been convicted of misappropriating

county funds to their own use, and had been sentenced by a full bench to two years' imprisonment respectively.

It is true that of the persons convicted only one was a "Molly Maguire," but the two others were of that class of politicians (one a Democrat and the other a Republican) from whom they received countenance and support.

"Molly" supremacy in township affairs was also threatened. The court of Schuylkill County had appointed special auditors for several of the townships, who were attending to their duties thoroughly and vigorously. There were also members of the order who were undergoing terms of imprisonment for whom pardons were anxiously desired.

The murders and other outrages committed during the preceding months had been of such frequent occurrence and so bold in execution as to create outspoken denunciation, especially in the larger towns, and after the arrests made in Tamaqua. The danger of severe retaliation was beginning to be feared. This sudden boldness was to a great extent owing to the absolute necessity for self-protection, but was very materially increased by the defiant attitude of the *Shenandoah Herald*, published by Thomas Foster, who was ably assisted in the editorial department by Thomas B. Fielder, Esq.

The position taken by these gentlemen startled the whole "Molly" organization. To denounce them in Scranton, Wilkesbarre, or Pottsville would evoke their curses but would be comparatively safe, but to enter upon the boldest and most aggressive warfare ever attempted against them, and that, too, in the borough of Shenandoah, their great stronghold, was like bearding the lion in his den.

Warnings and cautions given by friends to the publisher and editor were frequent, as were also the threats of members of the organization against both the property and persons of these gentlemen. Regardless of both warnings and threats, they pursued the course marked out, and as a con-

sequence, even in Shenandoah, a party in open opposition to "Molly" supremacy soon rallied.

The arrest of the murderers of John P. Jones had, however, inspired some caution, and the result of their trial was anxiously awaited before the commission of other murders then in contemplation.

Nevertheless, at this time the attitude of the "Molly" was a fearless one. That their organization was criminal they never dreamed could be believed, notwithstanding the suspicions that were gaining ground. They still controlled township affairs in many places, and were flattered and caressed by a powerful political element. A gubernatorial election was approaching. This was sought to be made a means by which their power could be maintained. As in years gone by, they were ready to sell their votes either for the purposes of personal gain or for promised pardons.

Although so recognized among themselves, the name of "Molly Maguire" was disavowed in their intercourse with those not members of the society. The name and charter of the Ancient Order of Hibernians were not only intended to deceive, but actually did deceive, a large portion of the community.

It was hard to believe that a society that held conventions at hotels and halls, on public streets, in the broad light of day, in the very centre of large towns, was being run in the interest of murderers and for the purposes of crime. As a consequence, the open denial of membership of the "Molly" society, combined with denunciation of its crimes, met with great success.* It was only when the testimony of McParlan was given, and corroborated in its main features, that the true facts of the case were generally understood.

* As a specimen of "Molly" tactics, see the letter of Jack Kehoe to the *Shenandoah Herald*, published in the Appendix.

That in the various bargains and sales made with these miscreants for political purposes the purchasers had only partial knowledge of the thoroughness of the criminal organization should in reality form no plea in mitigation of the condemnation with which, its full character known, it must be regarded. Universal corruption in politics is as much of a blow to the life of the nation as is the "Molly" bullet to the life of the victim.

Yet so it is; extended and frequent political corruption has become so common throughout the country, that the judgment of many of those who in the business and private relations of life are good and pure men is to some extent biased, and such corruption, if not openly approved, is not condemned.

The great mass of the citizens of the United States would sincerely rejoice were there absolute certainty of the honesty of elections and the purity of the ballot-box. Nevertheless, the mass of those citizens, like the mass of mankind, are partisan in their nature. They fall naturally into partisan politics, and during election excitements become possessed with an intense desire for success.

Success attained, the charge of dishonest means used is not, as a rule, investigated, will not be believed, is indignantly denied. When the proof is forced and is irresistible, it is answered with a counter-charge, too often well founded, of corruption on the other side.

The hackneyed quotation of

> "The good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan
> That they should take who had the power,
> And they should keep who can,"

like most hackneyed quotations, illustrates a great truth, and to no subject has it more apt application than to partisan politics. In the struggle for power success is too often

held to justify any means by which it is attained. The successful partisan, however honest, is triumphant, and does not desire to scrutinize too closely, whilst the unsuccessful, frequently embarrassed by his own misdeeds, is unable to lose the time and bear the expense necessary to bring offenders to justice. No matter how flagrant the fraud, the attempt would be made not only with no sympathy from, but even against the active resistance of, the successful party.

As a consequence, the unscrupulous and debased politician too often fraudulently manipulates elections, whilst the honest and well-disposed voters, who make up the great mass of the people, quietly acquiesce.

That great demoralization exists is a recognized fact, but that fraud clearly proven does not receive general sanction is equally true.

This is demonstrated in the popularity of the general demand for reform, and in the claims made by all parties that in their success the desired end can be reached. The corruptionist in politics, however, like the "Molly Maguire" of the anthracite coal-fields, is among his fellows open and avowed in his iniquity, and, again like the "Molly," claims admiration and honor on account of the successful perpetration of crime.

The "Molly Maguires," Irishmen, or the sons of Irishmen, like the great mass of their countrymen, naturally sympathize with the Democratic party; yet that their votes and influence have been held as a matter of bargain and sale for years past is beyond mere suspicion, it cannot be controverted.

It was under the patronage of the politician that the order had acquired its strength, and flattered by his caresses it felt its omnipotence for evil. By combination the "Molly" obtained money; by combination he could give full scope to his evil passions; through combination he hoped for pardons, was courted, caressed, was a man of influence.

At the time of the murder of John P. Jones the "Mollies" were eagerly pressing upon the Democratic party the claims of Patrick Collins, body-master of Palo Alto, for nomination to the office of County Commissioner of Schuylkill County. The conviction and sentence of two of the three Commissioners, and the appointment of Lewis C. Dougherty and Michael Beard, had been a blow to their influence in the management of county affairs, and the nomination and election of Collins, in both of which they were successful, were regarded as of great importance.

In this matter McKenna, in his efforts to maintain his position, was exceedingly active. He was at Pottsville on the 13th of September, the day of the convention, and, although not a member of the body, was on the outside, as earnest and loud in the advocacy of Collins's claims as his most devoted friends could desire.

Hon. Cyrus L. Pershing, President Judge of the Schuylkill district, received the Democratic nomination for Governor. Throughout the coal region, and especially in Schuylkill County, the nomination was exceedingly popular, and by none was more cordial approbation professed than by the leaders of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Large numbers of Republicans expressed their determination to vote for him, and openly advocated his election.

In Philadelphia, however, at a very early day in the canvass, assertions were made as coming from Republican headquarters that Judge Pershing would be defeated in the anthracite coal regions, and especial stress was laid on the fact that he would be beaten in his own county of Schuylkill. The confidence displayed on this point was great, and bets were offered by Republicans in some instances of a majority against, and in others of but a very small majority in favor of, the Democratic candidate in Schuylkill County.

News of these assertions were carried to Democratic

headquarters, and Hon. H. B. Wright, the Chairman of the Committee, fresh from Luzerne County, was, with all others present, utterly at a loss to account for the confidence manifested by the Republicans. All the news at that time received from the coal regions, from the Democratic stand-point, had been of the most cheering character.

It was suggested that there might have been an agreement to purchase the "Molly Maguire" vote and influence; but for the time being the idea was not entertained. The nomination of Judge Pershing had been received with apparent enthusiasm by those supposed to be leading "Mollies" and by the Irish element generally. That such anticipations were entertained by the Republican party the Democratic party of the coal regions first learned from Philadelphia. They were taken completely by surprise; large accessions from the Republican ranks had been promised, and not even an intimation given of any disaffection existing.

Very soon, however, leading Republicans of the coal region displayed a confidence equal to that of their Philadelphia brethren, and bets as to but a small majority in the coal-region counties were freely offered.* Rumors became current that the convicted County Commissioners were to be pardoned in the event of the re-election of General Hartranft, the Republican candidate for Governor, and that money was to be paid for "Molly" votes and "Molly" influence.

That there was any serious loss of the Irish vote to the Democratic party was by them earnestly denied, especially in Schuylkill County, where the election of Patrick Collins as County Commissioner was to many of them a paramount

* It is not intended that it should be understood that the bargain with leading "Mollies" was made in Philadelphia. The matter was negotiated in Schuylkill County. But before the bargain was closed leading Republican politicians in Philadelphia were consulted.

object. An open opposition to Judge Pershing they feared might affect the vote of Collins. Collins himself professed, and may have felt, great devotion to the Democratic candidate for Governor, and utterly denied that he was himself a "Molly Maguire." This, it is to be presumed, was on the assumption that he was only a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians,—a distinction since shown to be without a difference, so far as the anthracite coal regions are concerned.

That the purchase of such vote for General Hartranft was made in the interest of the Republican party was testified to in October, 1876, by John J. Slattery, when examined as a witness in the trial of Yellow Jack Donahue for the murder of Morgan Powell. Slattery testified that he and Jack Kehoe were, on the part of the "Mollies," parties to the contract; that the persons with whom they made the contract were two Republicans of influence, and also a professed Democrat who was opposing the election of Judge Pershing; that the consideration was a certain amount of money in hand paid, and a certain amount contingent on results, and that it was understood in the order that pardons were to be granted the Commissioners and other criminals; that he had himself arranged for the purchase of the "Molly" vote in Luzerne County, and that the money was carried there for that purpose by a person from Harrisburg, a messenger in the Executive department, whom he named.* Slattery also testified to the fact that a large amount of money was to be sent to Pittsburg to purchase the order there.

The facts, as stated by Slattery, so far as the payment of money is concerned, have been admitted. It is maintained,

* The writer does not intend, even by innuendo, to make any charge against Governor Hartranft. He is assured, by those who probably understand this matter, of his entire ignorance of the transaction. This the friends of Governor Hartranft will readily credit.

however, that it was not for the purchase of the "Molly" vote; that at the interviews with Slattery and Kehoe nothing was said as to pardons; that the money was paid for legitimate expenses. As against the oath of a convicted "Molly Maguire," the mere assertion of the parties he implicates in a disreputable transaction should have great weight.

But the corroboration of Slattery in the admission of the payment of the money substantially establishes his whole testimony. He does not assert that there was any agreement made between the contracting parties on the subject of pardons. He says, "Though there was no regular agreement, it was well understood between ourselves and the men who paid us the money that when necessary we were to get pardons for our men." *

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* *Shenandoah Herald*, October 23, 1876.

Extract from Slattery's evidence:

Question.—For this money that you received you were to use all your influence among the men of your order in favor of the Governor?

Answer.—Yes, sir. The entire "Molly Maguire" vote was to be cast for Hartranft, and Kehoe was to write to every county delegate in the State; and wherever there was a branch of the order in the State their influence and votes were to be cast for Hartranft; and before we got the money Kehoe showed them how strong the order was all over the State.

Question.—Were any other means used to gain the "Molly Maguire" vote in any other part of the State?

Answer.—Yes, sir. I fixed matters for Luzerne County.

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Question.—Was any money in addition to the sums you have mentioned to be used in any other part of the State? was any money to be used in Pittsburg?

Answer.—Yes, sir. More money was to be paid to the head men of the order in Pittsburg.

On the subject of pardons:

Question.—Did you or the order ever obtain any pardons for the manner in which the "Molly Maguire" vote was cast?

Answer.—Well, I had nothing to do with anything of the kind myself, but it was well understood that it was through the order that McCloskey and Tobin, and the County Commissioners and others, were pardoned; and

The money was certainly paid for a purpose. When that money was paid to John Kehoe, the County Delegate, and John J. Slattery, a leading "Molly," it is to be assumed that the persons who negotiated, and the persons from abroad who paid, knew exactly what was intended to be done. On the supposition that any of these gentlemen were at all surprised at the delivery of the "Molly" vote on election-day a theory of innocence might be established, but it would be of innocence accompanied by a degree of "verdancy" not at all enviable, and not generally attributed to any of the parties concerned.

In the county of Schuylkill, Judge Pershing had about the usual Democratic majority. The loss in "Molly" strongholds was overcome by gains in other districts.

When the bargain was made, it is not only probable, it is certain, that the full criminal nature of the order was not understood; but whether or not the vote had been purchased was widely discussed, and upon that point leading Republicans were confident and the great body of the Democrats fearful.

In this matter the parties concerned are neither better nor worse than many others who have engaged in similar transactions. In the general *exposé* of "Molly" crimes this one transaction has come to light. It was not the first purchase of the order, but it is to be hoped it will be the last.

The evil has its being not in the parties to this transaction, but in an idea prevalent among politicians of all parties, that "anything is fair in politics." It is this pernicious doctrine that has induced very many men in other respects of high character to do things which neither their conscience nor their judgment approved.

Barney Dolan, the County Delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians before John Kehoe, obtained the pardon of "Bear" Dolan by promising the "Molly Maguire" vote.

It would not be just to the Board of Pardons or to Governor Hartranft to hold them responsible because the "Mollies" had an understanding relative to such pardons among themselves.

Slattery testifies that the promised pardons of Tobin and of the Commissioners were used to influence votes, and yet in both of these cases the petitions for pardon were signed by men of unquestionable character of both political parties. There are many men who approved and advocated both of these pardons who have not only no sympathy with the order, but are even bitterly opposed to it.

It required skill and management so to conduct the business of pardons as to influence the "Molly" vote and at the same time receive indorsements from good citizens; but the manipulators were equal to the occasion.

When, however, in connection with rumors and expectation on the part of the "Mollies" the pardons are seen to be granted without the petitions being signed by either the judge before whom the case was tried or the district attorney who prosecuted, and this in direct violation of the established rules of the Board of Pardons, that suspicion should arise was but natural.

It has been necessary to consider this subject. It is a part of the history of the organization. It strikingly illustrates its power and importance. Many murders had been committed in which it was believed that members of the order were implicated. Arrests had been made. The bitterness of feeling against the order in many sections of the region was intense. But it was still defiant, still arrogant. It demanded from one party the nomination of one of its members to an important county office, and the other, recognizing and respecting its power, pandered to its vices and purchased it.

In October, 1875, it was feared and courted by both political parties.

That the leaders of this organization should be admitted to friendly intercourse with respectable men is explainable by the fact that, even in the theatre of their crimes, in the very midst of their operations, where manifestations of their power for evil are visible on every side, it was not in ordinary human nature to conceive its extent and terrible nature.

It is hardly probable that the "Molly Maguire" can in the future exercise any potent influence in politics. Of the worst of the order, many are confined within prison-walls, others are outcasts and fugitives, and still others are trembling lest in the developments being made their crimes shall come to light.

It is hoped the day of at least comparative honesty in politics will come. In the demand for reform the masses of the people are in earnest. Their earnest wish may not forever be defied. The fate of the Tweed ring in New York, of the whisky rings in Chicago and St. Louis, and of the canal ring in New York, the investigation of custom-house frauds, and lastly the downfall of the "Molly Maguire" of the anthracite coal-fields, may well serve as warnings to evil-doers, however arrogant, proud, and of present power, that the end is inevitable, and that the way of the transgressor is hard.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE AUTUMN OF 1875—WAITING FOR THE TRIALS.

To no one did the arrest of the murderers of John P. Jones give more thorough satisfaction than to Charles W. Parrish, Esq., the president of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company. Mr. Parrish has long experience and intimate knowledge of the coal region and practical coal-

mining on an extended scale. When the policy of forming great coal-mining companies was adopted, he was influential in the formation of the company of which he is president.

To render the lands of his company valuable, he, like Mr. Gowen, was fully impressed with the necessity of lessening the overgrown power of the "Labor Union" and of absolutely exterminating, if possible, the Molly Maguires.

When in the month of August, 1875, he learned of the work being done by the detective at Tamaqua, he fully appreciated its importance to coal-mining interests and to life and property throughout the coal regions. When Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly were committed to prison at Mauch Chunk, he felt that the time for energetic action on the part of his company had arrived.

It was speedily ascertained, through information derived from McParlan, that the proper parties had been arrested, but to defeat the "alibi," it was feared, would be difficult. The "Mollies" were in the heyday of their power and influence, and it was only too likely that fear of sudden and dreadful death would close the mouths of witnesses in this as in the many cases that had preceded it.

To counteract the influence of this terrorism the efforts of the civil authorities, backed with the money, the power, and the influence of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, were evoked; and as the assassination of Yost had been perpetrated by men from Carbon County in consideration of the murder of Jones, the cost of their prosecution was also assumed by the company.

The assassination of Jones had excited intense indignation in the locality where it had been committed, and the determined stand taken by the company inspired courage. At this juncture the Commonwealth was fortunate in having the services of General Charles Albright, the legal adviser of the coal company. With a full conception of

the importance of the case, no item of evidence was too small, no detail too laborious, to engage his attention. Availing himself of the ample resources at his command, the amount of labor he accomplished is almost incredible. His note-book is a curiosity, but, judging from its size and the amount of information it contains, it must be written in a short-hand understood only by himself. It is a compendium of testimony,—a perfect store-house of knowledge of witnesses, of "Mollies," their wives, their personal habits, and their relations. Rapidly but surely a preparation of the case was made that has scarcely a parallel in the annals of criminal jurisprudence.

In accomplishing this end McKenna was of great service. He did not come in contact with, nor was he the person known to, General Albright, or, in fact, to any one in his official capacity, except to his immediate employers, the Pinkerton Agency. But through information derived from him not only was the work of the Commonwealth greatly facilitated, but a complete knowledge of the whole theory of the defense, and the means taken to establish the "alibi" which was to be set up on the trial, was obtained.

The intimate relations which McKenna had with the family of James Kerrigan, and his apparent devotion to his sister-in-law, as well as his position as a leading "Molly," justified the deep interest which he manifested, and caused him to be consulted upon every step taken for the defense.

That he displayed great activity in this matter it is unnecessary to say. He urged the raising of money to fee lawyers. He consulted with Mulhearn, a young lawyer,—an Irishman,—who went to Mount Laffee for the purpose of looking up the witnesses for the "alibi" to be set up for Doyle and Kelly. He was one of the managers of a ball given at the old Town Hall, in Pottsville, by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the understood object of which was

to raise funds to aid in the defense of the accused murderers of John P. Jones; and he was at the ball, the wildest Irishman of them all, ready for anything,—to dance, to drink, to sing, or to fight.

Immediately succeeding the murder of John P. Jones, the services of McKenna were appreciated to their fullest extent, not only by the Pinkerton Agency, but also by those by whom the Agency had been employed. He had now attained such a position in the order that the acquisition of knowledge of crimes, past and present, was becoming comparatively easy; but all his energies were fully taxed.

He was still engaged in his investigations of the murders done in years past; he was on the alert to guard against and report contemplated crime, and every move of the defense of the Jones murderers required his special attention.

The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company had acquired an extent of information relative to perpetrated crimes that rendered the desire for full information more intense, whilst the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company became hopeful that through him the history of outrages in Carbon and Luzerne Counties, long buried in the mists of the past, would be discovered, and the long-undetected criminal be called to answer at the bar of justice.

As the resources and opportunities of McKenna had enlarged, the theatre of his operations became more extended, and a well-founded hope was felt that, in time and by patient work, the full scope and object of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whether criminal or otherwise, not only in the coal regions, but also throughout the United States and Great Britain, would be to a certainty discovered.

In the autumn of 1875, in connection with his other duties, he spent the greater portion of several months in

Luzerne County, obtaining more full and detailed knowledge of the operations of the organization there, and also keeping in view the movements of certain persons known by him to be criminals.

During this time the authorities of Schuylkill County were actively engaged. From information derived through the detective the perpetrators of very many outrages and murders, old and new, had become known to them; and George R. Kaercher, Esq., the efficient and able District Attorney, was doing his utmost to obtain the necessary evidence to justify arrests. To do this without exciting suspicion was difficult. The detective was actively at work, but, independently of him as a witness, it was feared that sufficient evidence could not be produced at that time to hold the guilty parties to answer as against a writ of habeas corpus.

Those who could have been so held were generally the minor offenders, whose arrest would have put the greater criminals on their guard. So far as practicable, the places of residence of those known to be guilty were kept in view.

But as the time for the trial of the Jones murderers approached, the confidence of both the Commonwealth and the "Molly Maguire" organization increased. The counsel for the prosecution had in that case gathered such a mass of testimony as to render, to their minds, conviction certain; whilst on the part of the "Mollies" the exact character of the alibi had been fully determined upon in all its details,—there existed no difficulty in obtaining any desired number of witnesses to swear to it. The necessary funds they felt assured would be raised, either directly by or through the influence of the organization.

Of their acquittal very many felt assured at an early day; for example, at a convention held at Shenandoah, for the purpose of raising funds for the defense, as early as the 20th of September, Thomas Munley told McKenna that

he had informed a number of "Mollies" that he and Darcy were the murderers of Jones. He begged McKenna not to expose him; that it was well known among a number of the organization that he had killed Sanger, and he wanted the additional honor of having it believed that he had also murdered Jones; that, if McKenna did not contradict him, there would be no difficulty on this point, as Kerrigan, Doyle, and Kelly would certainly prove an "alibi."

The case had been fixed for trial at Mauch Chunk on the 19th of October, 1875. The cause was continued at the instance of the prisoners, who alleged defect in the summoning of jurors. The question presented was a doubtful one, and the court decided the point in favor of the prisoners.

But during this time the hope of the conviction of the arrested prisoners, the outspoken denunciations of the order by the public press, especially by the *Shenandoah Herald*,—published in the very centre of their power,—and the determined stand of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, not only were breaking down the terrorism existing, but had also roused a bitter desire for revenge. Owing to the fury inspired in the order by the arrest of Kerrigan, Kelly, and Doyle, outrages at first were frequent, and still more were threatened. "Coffin notices" were of daily occurrence. But they were disregarded and defied, and counter-notices served on leading "Mollies" that retaliation in a tenfold degree would be inflicted.* The "Molly" was startled, indignant, and surprised, but learned to respect to some extent an opposition which he had not deemed possible.

* As some indication of the state of feeling at this time, attention is called to the following extracts from the public press. Articles of the same nature were published daily:

Communication to *Shenandoah Herald*, September 17, 1875. "It is

Shenandoah was not only the stronghold of the "Mollies," but soon in the coal regions became the stronghold of the opposition. In that place the bitterness of feeling was intense, and it increased day by day, until on the evening of Saturday, the 9th of October, it appeared to have reached the culminating point. That night is remembered there as the "night of terror." Early in the evening a feeling of uneasiness seemed to pervade the whole town,—how or why no one could tell.

Between six and seven o'clock in the evening an Irishman named John Heffron walked into the National Hotel and stepped up to Daniel Williams, who was behind the bar, pulled out a revolver, and, pointing it at him, asked how he would like some of that. Williams said, "Not at all," when Heffron, turning, fired into the street. Fortunately, no one was injured. Heffron was arrested and taken before Burgess Conners, who took away the pistol, but said it would be returned if five dollars were paid. No money was forthcoming, and Heffron was discharged on bail.

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thought by many that in order to deter the reputable citizens of this place from giving evidence against Kelly, Kerrigan, and Doyle, at present in jail at Mauch Chunk, a citizen or two of the county will be murdered shortly in cold blood, as have been Major, Yost, James, Gwither, Sanger, Uren, and Jones. This, it is said, the 'Mollies' think will keep witnesses away from the trial, and assist in securing the release of the murderers, which is confidently counted upon. The murderers may be acquitted,—such things have happened before,—but the blood of Yost and Jones calls for vengeance, and before the grass of next spring-time grows upon their graves the debt will have been wiped out, if not through the agency of the law and the courts, then, and more surely and swiftly, independent of that agency."

From the *Tamaqua Item*. "In Shenandoah mine-bosses go to work guarded by a couple of policemen, or with carbines over their shoulders. A pretty spectacle, truly, for the United States of America within a year of the Centennial! It is a consolation to know, however, that, if there is anything in the signs of the times, long before this time next year Schuylkill County will be too hot to hold the Thugs and murderers who have so long been terrorizing over us."

About this time a dispute occurred between an Irishman, named Richard Finnen, and a stranger, in Couch's saloon, as to their respective strength. Suddenly the saloon was filled with a crowd of people, who joined in the altercation; a shot was fired by an unknown hand at Finnen, who fell, mortally wounded, it was supposed, the ball having lodged in the head, above the right eye.

A turbulent feeling seemed to pervade the town; many persons went to their homes, but their places were more than filled by others making their appearance.

About eleven o'clock at night a man named Reese Thomas fired a shot from his revolver,—he claimed, accidentally; he was arrested and sent to the lock-up, the burgess refusing bail. This increased the excitement. An Irishman, although guilty of a much more flagrant offense, had just before been discharged.

Frequent shots now were heard over the town; men were stopped and examined by self-constituted committees.

A man named James Johns, a Welshman, was found in a saloon in a fearful condition; he had been shot, the ball passing in at the shoulder-blade and lodging near the right lung; his throat was cut from ear to ear, and he had been beaten on the head with a billy. There had been an attempt to burn him: his clothes were partly charred. And yet he was not dead.

It was now past midnight. The streets were filled with people; those who had been in their beds arose and joined the throng. The town was filled with small mobs, actuated by different motives. There was an angry look in every eye, and yet there was no special object on which to vent their spleen, but men stood with their teeth set. Some fifteen shots were fired into Muff Lawler's tavern. Crowds of men were fired into, but the intended assassins, although pursued, escaped. During the whole night the streets were crowded. A large fire was raging in Mahanoy City, only

about four miles distant, and with its lurid glare lit up the heavens, but it hardly excited a passing remark. Men were fearful of some impending danger, they could not tell what; there was a wicked, ugly feeling prevalent, which had it been so directed might have occasioned a fearful riot. With the early dawn the streets were still filled with angry men.

How this turbulence arose, and what was its cause, that night, it is difficult to say. The whole community was outraged, the Mollies were defiant, a bloody conflict seemed pending; but daylight appeared, the blow had not been struck, and the excitement abated.

Strange to say, severe as were the wounds of the Irishman and Welshman, neither died from their effect.

On Sunday the deputy sheriff issued a proclamation, and that night the town was patrolled by one hundred special policemen, composed of the leading citizens of the place. Quiet was again restored.

The 19th of October, 1875, the time fixed for the trial of the Jones murderers, came and passed, the case was continued, and all parties seemed to be waiting the result of the trial, when an event occurred which excited discussion and great feeling.

A number of persons suspected the McAllisters and O'Donnells to have been the murderers of Sanger and Uren. But month after month rolled by, and no additional arrests were made. It was beginning to be believed that the guilty parties would entirely escape punishment, when an outrage occurred, generally known as the "Wiggan's Patch murder," then and now generally supposed to have been the work of a vigilance committee.

Friday and Charles O'Donnell resided, in December, 1875, with their mother, at Wiggan's Patch, a small colliery town near Mahanoy City. Charles McAllister, with his wife, who was a daughter of Mrs. O'Donnell, also

boarded in the same house. About one o'clock on the morning of the 10th of December an attack by a mob of disguised men roused the sleeping family. Friday O'Donnell was known as a desperado, but, overawed by the suddenness of the attack, he offered no resistance, and sought safety in instant flight from the house, the neighborhood, and the county. Charles McAllister also succeeded in escaping. James McAllister was captured, had a rope placed round his neck, but succeeded in getting away, though in doing so he received a severe gunshot wound in the arm. Charles O'Donnell was captured, and was dragged a short distance from the house, where he was shot and instantly killed; fourteen bullets are said to have been lodged in his body.

Whilst this was occurring, Mrs. Charles McAllister made her appearance in her night-clothes at the door of the house. Shots were fired at her, which, taking effect, caused almost instant death. It is supposed that her murder was unintentional,—that the mob, seeing only the white robes in the darkness, shot, as they imagined, at the husband instead of the wife.

If this was the work of a vigilance committee, in their retaliation and in the character of the crime they closely followed the example of the "Molly Maguire." The victims were unarmed and unresisting, and sent without a moment's warning into eternity. The mob disappeared quickly and mysteriously. Who they were, whence they came, and whither they went, are still wrapped in mystery. Whoever they were, they desired that the intention of their act should be considered as being one of revenge. A paper containing the words,

> THE MURDERERS OF
> UREN AND SANGER,

was next morning found near the scene of the outrage. A man named F. Wenerich, residing in Mahanoy City, was arrested,* but his innocence of any participation in the crime has been recognized.

It is believed that this murder caused more general and wide-spread consternation among the "Molly Maguires" than even the arrest of John P. Jones. The punishment of murderers by death at the hand of the law had never followed any of their numerous crimes. The "alibi" had always proven a successful means of defense. To obtain witnesses to prove such "alibi" required scarcely an effort. Success in the past by such means inspired a well-founded hope for the future.

But the very characteristic in their nature which induced them to clothe cold-blooded brutal assassination with the robe of heroism inspired them with morbid terror when their own modes of action were applied to themselves. The excitement prevailing after the "Wiggan's Patch murder" throughout the Molly organization in the coal region was therefore intense. A peculiarity of the "Molly" social circle has been before referred to, that whilst, to those outside their organization, their disregard of human life is inconceivable, yet among themselves there is a morbid dread of death. The mourning for the unfortunate victims among this class was wide-spread, and their indignation was as intense as if no provocation whatever had been given.†

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* John Kehoe was the prosecutor.

† Both by the community at large and by the great body of the "Mollies" the "Wiggan's Patch" murder is supposed to have been the work of the vigilance committee. Its effect was as described in the text.

But in the opinion of John J. Slattery it was the work of John Kehoe. It appears that after the murder of Sanger and Uren, young Charles O'Donnell was much troubled in mind. It affected him to such a degree that his family became alarmed; John Kehoe, the brother-in-law, remonstrated with him, but O'Donnell still continued restless and disturbed.

Some were terror-stricken, but the bolder spirits were sullen and desperate. Day by day active resistance was organizing against them. In Northumberland County, in Schuylkill County, in the Mahanoy regions, and about Tamaqua, and in Carbon County, instead of the terrorism before existing, active retaliation was being inaugurated. The Catholic Church, always their enemy, now formally excommunicated them. But the power of years, now apparently at its height, was not to be yielded without a severe struggle. As politicians, they were courted; as criminals, they were hopeful of obtaining pardons. They could not, and they would not, believe their reign was drawing to a close. Never, perhaps, in the whole history of the anthracite coal-fields, did there exist greater danger than at this time of wide-spread destruction of life and property.

Two Schuylkill County conventions of the order were called, and met in January, 1876, at Jack Kehoe's, in Girardville, to take into consideration the expediency of

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Kehoe became so indignant at his conduct that he went to Mrs. O'Donnell's house and thrashed him.

O'Donnell's uneasiness remained, and it was feared by Kehoe that through him all the circumstances connected with the murder would be exposed. Slattery understood the state of affairs, and knew of Kehoe's feelings.

On the morning of the 9th of December, Charles Mulhearn told Slattery he was going to Mahanoy Valley that day, and that a "job" was to be done at Wiggan's Patch that night.

On the 10th he heard of the murder. His suspicions were at once aroused. He did not see Mulhearn until about four days afterwards. When they did meet, Mulhearn made no reference to the matter. This increased Slattery's suspicions. He believes that had Mulhearn not known that the murder was not the work of the vigilance committee, he would have been much excited on the subject.

The affair of Wiggan's Patch is still a mystery. It is difficult to believe that Jack Kehoe would deliberately compass the murder of the brothers of his wife; but then it is only positive proof that renders any of the "Molly" murders credible.

furnishing the members of the organization with rifles. The necessity of a thorough and complete arming of the order was agreed to, and an assessment was made upon each member for that purpose.

The spirit manifested at the meetings was a defiant one, and curses and threats at the opposition to them were rife. These assessments were in part paid. A most formidable organization was only prevented by the arrests quickly following, and consequent demoralization.

A collision seemed imminent. The "Molly," on the one hand, was exasperated at the active measures taken against the order, and the defiant attitude assumed. A portion of the community were intensely excited in their opposition, and fearful that in the future, as in the past, the murderers would escape punishment. Both parties were in so inflammable a condition that a slight provocation would have produced open warfare.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TRIAL OF DOYLE—CONFESSION OF KERRIGAN.

WHILST affairs were in the condition described in the preceding chapter, the trial of the alleged murderers of John P. Jones was awaited by the entire community throughout the coal region with deep anxiety. Those who were ignorant of the extent of the preparation made by the Commonwealth—and such of course formed the mass of the people—had suffered so long under the rule of the "Mollies" that the hope of punishment following crime in their case was but slight.

The arrests had caused the "Molly Maguires" to defer the perpetration of contemplated murders; but upon the

acquittal of the prisoners it was understood among themselves that certain men must die, victims to the "Molly" bullet.

On the other hand, there was wide-spread fear that their acquittal would call the vigilance committee into active operation, and that all the horrors of a state of anarchy would follow. In relation to the trial both the Commonwealth and the defense were active.

Eminent counsel were engaged for the prosecution, and the preparation made was thorough and complete. On the part of the "Mollies" no effort had been spared to raise money, by subscription, by levies upon the different divisions and counties in the anthracite coal region, by balls and parties. They, too, as they thought, were thoroughly prepared, and appeared with a brilliant array of counsel.

On the 18th of January, 1876, the case was called for trial at Mauch Chunk, before his Honor Judge Dreher. E. R. Siewers, the District Attorney for Carbon County, appeared for the Commonwealth, and with him the Hon. F. W. Hughes, of Schuylkill, and General Charles Albright and Hon. Allen Craig, of Carbon.

For the defense appeared John W. Ryon, Esq., and Hon. Lin Bartholomew, of Pottsville, Hon. Jas. B. Reilly, member of Congress from Schuykill, Daniel Kalbfus and Edward Mulhearn, Esq., of Carbon County.

The magnitude of the case, combined with the brilliant array of counsel employed, tended to create intense excitement in the small town of Mauch Chunk, and this excitement increased as the trial progressed. The court-house there had never before presented such a scene. The prisoners, under guard of a strong force of Coal and Iron Police, upon their entrance into the court-room looked and felt confident, and answered the sympathizing glances of a host of "Molly Maguires," who, arrogant and outspoken, were thronging the court-room and the streets of the town.

In the midst of the threatened danger they were furious. An attack upon the jail, or an attempted rescue, was feared, and an uneasy feeling prevailed that at any moment might come an outburst. Precautions against a rescue were enforced when adjourning the court. First the doors were directed to be shut, and the attendant throng confined; then the constables were directed to take the jury from the room. In the mean time the prisoners were handcuffed, and sent under a strong guard to prison. Then the doors were all unlocked, and the smothered wrath of the throng in the court-room found vent in curses from clustering knots of angry men on the public streets.

A body of police fully armed guarded the jail, and a full supply of hand-grenades and other ammunition was kept within its walls.

Judge Dreher, learned, deliberate, unimpassioned, but determined, understood the danger of the situation, and, whilst allowing every reasonable latitude to the argument of counsel, preserved strict order and checked any disposition to acrimonious discussion.

An application was made by the prisoners for a change of venue. An argument was heard and considered, and the motion was refused. Dilatory motions were heard and dismissed.

The District Attorney was directed to proceed, and the indictment charging James Kerrigan, Edward Kelly, and Michael J. Doyle with the murder of John P. Jones was read to the prisoners, who respectively entered the plea of "not guilty." Separate trials were demanded, and the Commonwealth elected to try Michael J. Doyle. A jury was directed to be selected.

The impaneling of a jury in a homicide case is in itself a solemn act, bringing to the minds of the parties present the fact that human life is to be weighed in the balance, and that safeguards are being thrown around it. The

jurors are called singly. The clerk of the court in each instance directs, "Juror, look on the prisoner; prisoner, look on the juror. What say you, challenge or no challenge?" If, as usual, the prisoner does not immediately avail himself of his right, the juror is directed to be sworn to make true answers. He is then usually examined as to whether he has conscientious scruples on the subject of capital punishment; whether he has formed or expressed an opinion, etc.

The answers may be of such a nature as to render the juror incompetent, and one side or the other may challenge for cause. If no legal cause is shown, the right of peremptory challenge exists, in a limited degree, in the Commonwealth, and, to a large extent, in the prisoner. This right not being exercised by either party, the court directs the juror to be sworn in the pending case. The same formula is repeated with each juror called until twelve are chosen.

It can readily be understood that in cases which have occupied a large share of public attention difficulty in obtaining jurors frequently occurs. In the case of Doyle several days elapsed before a jury was selected.

E. R. Siewers, Esq., the District Attorney, well and clearly related the sad story of the murder of Jones, and told in detail the testimony proposed to be submitted, by which the guilt of the prisoner was to be shown.

The case is proceeded with. General Albright examines the witness, and Bartholomew conducts the cross-examination. In the frequent points arising, all the counsel at times engage; but Hughes, as a rule, argues the legal points in behalf of the Commonwealth, and Ryon for the prisoner.

The testimony is wonderful in its completeness. During the day preceding the murder, hour by hour, almost minute by minute, the exact whereabouts of the prisoners are

shown. Doyle and Kelly are identified as having fired the fatal shots, and their course is minutely traced up to the moment of their arrest.

As day after day new and unexpected testimony is offered, clinching and riveting the damning evidence of guilt, the crowd of "Mollies" in the town look sullen and dangerous.

The officers of the court, members of the bar, the policemen, the tipstaves, the throng of spectators, watch every step of the trial with breathless interest. Even the army of reporters, by their profession inured to varied scenes of excitement, and even danger, are interested in the strange story being told, while they uneasily watch the crowd of threatening faces with which the room is thronged.

The counsel for the Commonwealth were secure in the strength of their case, and appeared confident. They must have been conscious, however, of the intense hate with which many present regarded them. If each and every of them were not armed during the trial, they neglected ordinary precaution. The counsel for the defense were uneasy. From the beginning they understood and felt the danger to their clients far better than did the arrogant and self-confident organization from which their fees were obtained.* As the cause progressed, any hope of acquittal which they might have before entertained passed away. When the Commonwealth rested their case, the carefully-prepared "alibi" was useless. There was danger of prosecution and conviction for perjury to any rash enough to attempt to prove such "alibi" upon the witness-stand. The counsel for the prisoners discharged the witnesses. That they were prepared to swear falsely was so manifest

* It is not intended to be intimated that the counsel for the defense were employed by the "Molly Maguires" as an organization. Their engagements, it is to be presumed, were made with the relatives and friends of the prisoners.

that the prisoners' counsel felt that to call them would not only be useless, but that they would be knowingly permitting perjury.

That these witnesses should not be called was specially urged upon his colleagues by Hon. James B. Reilly, who, it is possible, had some knowledge of the nature of the testimony the "Mollies" intended to produce. Because he was of Irish extraction, a Catholic, and a politician, he was deemed worthy of greater confidence than any of his colleagues except Mulhearn. The "Mollies" made a mistake. James B. Reilly was not prepared to become a party to a crime.

The case was submitted to the jury upon the testimony of the Commonwealth. Nothing, one would imagine, could be said in behalf of the prisoner; but Kalbfus, who possesses a wonderful command of words, and Bartholomew, ingenious and brilliant, made stirring appeals to the jury.

But no efforts, however eloquent, could avail the prisoner, especially under the review of testimony made by counsel for the Commonwealth, and the calm and dispassionate charge of his Honor Judge Dreher.

Notwithstanding the completeness of the testimony, the Commonwealth were determined to risk nothing, and Hon. Allen Craig (the able counsel of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company), logical, self-possessed, and with high literary culture, General Albright, elaborate, thorough, with intimate knowledge of the facts and of the law bearing on the case, and Hon. F. W. Hughes, with large experience and thorough knowledge of the law, trained, comprehensive, analytical, and eloquent, made their best efforts before the jury.

On the morning of the 1st of February, 1876, the jury brought in against Michael J. Doyle the verdict of "Guilty of murder in the first degree." The prisoner listened eagerly whilst the verdict was being rendered by the jury,

and then instantly presented an appearance of being entirely unaffected by the result. This assumed hardihood is by no means unusual among criminals convicted of high crimes, but especially among the "Molly Maguires" is it maintained as a matter of pride.

The open expression of emotion is a characteristic of the Irish people, and yet the verdict of "guilty of murder" may be rendered, and the prisoner will remain apparently the least concerned of any present. The wife, whose devotion is recognized with sympathy, will sit calmly by without evidence of emotion; the father and the brother will be apparently cold and impassive; it is only the aged mother who will utter a wail, or show the mortal agony that fills the hearts of them all.

A motion for a new trial was entered a few days afterwards, but was refused, and Michael J. Doyle was by Judge Dreher sentenced to death by hanging.

McKenna is of course on hand during the trial. He is seemingly as chagrined as the worst of the throng of bad men present at the course matters are taking. As witness after witness is called he apparently becomes more defiant. But his interviews with Captain Linden, who is also present, taking open part in the prosecution, are arranged with skill and care. Day by day the exact position of the defense is disclosed, and night after night is it reviewed, discussed, and guarded against in General Albright's office.

During the trial an incident occurred which was of terrible import to the "Molly" organization. Deputy-Sheriff Brenheiser testified to a conversation which he had overheard in prison between Doyle and Kerrigan. The conversation had been carried on through certain pipes by which the cells were connected. Doyle said in effect that a statement of an "alibi" had been prepared and sent to Reilly at Pottsville, which statement was to be shown to the witnesses who were to be sent from Mount Laffee, in

order that they might know exactly what to swear to; that the witnesses were ready to show that Kerrigan had been at a wake near Yorktown at the time the murder occurred; that he could trust Mulhearn and Reilly, but must be careful in what he said to Bartholomew and Kalbfus. This testimony excited Kerrigan beyond control; he sprang to his feet, exclaiming, "That is a lie! By God, I have no stomach for this! I won't have my life sworn away in this way!"

Kerrigan was silenced by the court, and sank to his seat. It was the turning-point in his existence. If true to his race and inborn prejudices, certain death at the hands of the law stared him in the face; if false, family, friends, associates, all he loved or who loved him, would throw him off as an outcast and a traitor. But there was a chance for life; and the love of life triumphed: in that moment he determined to become an "*informer.*"

That he wished to confess was speedily made known to the counsel for the Commonwealth, and a day or two before the conviction of Doyle, Messrs. Hughes and Albright, in company with a stenographer, visited Kerrigan in prison. He told his story; he told the truth, but not at that time the whole truth; he endeavored to shield himself. He told the story of the murder of Jones, and also of that of Yost, and gave a view of the inside workings of the organization, of which his listeners, old residents in the coal regions though they were, had never dreamed.

But with this revelation came a well-assured confidence that, fearful as was the evil, a remedy might be applied. A well-defined hope sprang into life. Francis W. Hughes and Charles Albright are men of high social and professional standing. They differ in many respects,—in appearance, in manner,—and they profess directly opposite political faith. But both men are possessed of a purity of character and honesty of purpose carrying them beyond

petty aims and purposes. They felt a common duty, and, clasping hands, expressed a common purpose to accomplish a common object. The pledge then made has been well sustained. From that day onward, for many long months, side by side they have waged war against the "Molly Maguire." They have had able associates, but from the first trial to the last, in Carbon and in Schuylkill, ever at their post, they have dealt vigorous and manly blows for the punishment of crime and the maintenance of law and order.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ARRESTS OF MOLLY MAGUIRES—McPARLAN SUSPECTED.

By the confession of James Kerrigan a point long desired had at last been attained by the civil authorities and those specially active in the endeavor to break up the "Molly Maguire" organization. Whilst the confession of Kerrigan as to his own participation in crime had been only partial, it was well understood by the Pinkerton Detective Agency and by the experienced lawyers at the helm that the entering wedge had been driven in. They knew that the unveiling of all the unholy secrets of the organization was merely a question of time. Not only in their minds was the conviction of all the murderers of John P. Jones and Policeman Benjamin F. Yost rendered certain, but it was now felt that with safety other known murderers could be arrested, and that those who had long been resting in fancied security from punishment for ghastly crimes, almost forgotten amidst present horrors, could at last be brought to the bar of outraged justice.

It was now felt that the knowledge already in their pos-

session obtained through McParlan could be rendered available without calling him upon the witness-stand. This they could the more readily do as with him in the camp of the enemy every move made by them would be known and the perjured testimony required to establish the "alibi" universally adopted as a defense could be readily exposed.

The fact that a confession had been made by one of the prisoners at Mauch Chunk was soon a matter of rumor; that the informer was James Kerrigan was soon suspected. The "Mollies" had themselves never felt absolutely secure in Kerrigan, and, as a consequence, had been specially careful to give him encouragement and to attend to the wants and interests of his family. For this reason, whilst the rumor inspired fear among them, it was not fully believed.

Warrants for the arrest of the murderers of Yost were placed in the hands of Captain Linden, and also in the hands of Captain Peeler, of the Coal and Iron Police, located in Carbon County. The arrests were managed with great skill, and simultaneously made on Friday, the 4th of February, 1876, two days after the jury in the Doyle case had rendered their verdict of "Guilty of murder in the first degree." Early in the morning of that day Alexander Campbell was sent to Mauch Chunk, and James Roarity, James Carroll, Hugh McGeehan, James Boyle, and Thomas Duffy were brought to Tamaqua, together sent to Pottsville, and there at once committed to prison to await trial. Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew were employed for the defense, and in their behalf applied for a writ of habeas corpus on the 9th of February, which was made returnable on the 12th of the same month. The intensity of feeling created by these arrests can well be imagined. It was now fully understood that Kerrigan was the "leaker." The indignation of the "Mollies" against him—in which a large portion of the Irish people sympathized—was openly expressed.

The state of feeling then prevailing was increased in intensity by the arrest on the 10th of February—the day following the issuing of the writ of habeas corpus in the Yost case—of Charles McAllister and Thomas Munley, charged with the murder of Sanger and Uren at Raven's Run, and their commitment to the Schuylkill County jail. Men greeted each other with brightened faces, and the end of the "Molly Maguire" was for the first time generally predicted.

Saturday, the 12th of February, 1876, the day fixed for the hearing of the habeas corpus in the case of the prisoners arrested for the murder of Policeman Yost, arrived. The large court-room at Pottsville was packed almost to suffocation with a mass of anxious and excited humanity. The corridors of the court-house were filled with expectant faces. Crowds of people unable to gain admittance into the court-room thronged the streets. The nature and extent of Kerrigan's confession, who, and how many, were implicated, were the themes of every tongue.

Disappointment had been expressed at the fact that no sight had yet been obtained of Kerrigan. Multitudes of the curious had awaited the arrival of the train from Tamaqua, anxious to catch a glimpse of the "informer." But, fearful of a disturbance or an attempt to murder him, he had been sent from Mauch Chunk in a special car, under charge of Captain Peeler. Unnoticed by any one, he had taken his lodgings in the Schuylkill County jail.* But fresh disappointment was still in store. Judge Pershing made his appearance on the bench, and announced that the hearing would be private, and that the room must be cleared. It was some twenty minutes before the room could

* Kerrigan has since that time made frequent journeys openly between Mauch Chunk and Pottsville, but always in charge of Captain Peeler. From the circumstance of the captain being a large man and Kerrigan being very diminutive in size, he has received the name of "Peeler's baby."

be emptied, and then, in the presence of their Honors Pershing, Green, and Walker, all of the law judges, and Associate Judge Seitzinger, the hearing was had. A number of the witnesses for the Commonwealth were present and testified, and Kerrigan then first made a public confession. As directions were given that the proceedings were not to be published, the curiosity of the community was in no degree allayed. All of the prisoners were committed to answer the charge of murdering Benjamin F. Yost.

Whilst the arrest of Munley and McAllister attracted no special attention other than as being that of the murderers of Yost, it alarmed the "Molly Maguires" themselves. The public did not know the extent of Kerrigan's information, but they did. In the murder of Sanger and Uren it was known to them that Kerrigan had no part; he was a resident of a different part of the region, and had no special intimate connection with the murderers. A different source of information seemed indicated. To such experienced and able attorneys as Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew, the conduct of the prosecution in the Doyle case had rendered evident the fact that information of the defense was being disclosed and that their policy in minute details was being betrayed by some one within their own lines. This belief of the attorneys became known, and aroused to the full extent the suspicions of the "Mollies." The arrest of Munley and McAllister confirmed them in their views.

Who was the detective? Suspicion fell upon McKenna, —exactly how and why is wrapped in some mystery. Various stories are afloat. One is that he was forced to sign his true name of McParlan to a draft or check to enable him to get some money out of bank. Another, that owing to the suspension of a Chicago banking-house, in which his savings of years were deposited, he was forced to use his own name. Still another, that by accident a returned

letter at the post-office betrayed his true character. And still another, that a dropped letter at Tamaqua, falling into the wrong hands, led to his discovery. It is probable that there is a foundation for all these stories; it is possible that none of them contain the true version of the matter. It is sufficient to know that his business was discovered, and that the discovery was imparted to several Catholic priests. Through these priests Jack Kehoe, the County Delegate, and others of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, were put upon their guard against him as being a detective.

That this fact should be urged by many as proof positive that the Roman Catholic priesthood, if not the Roman Catholic Church, are in sympathy with the "Molly Maguires," can readily be supposed. The prejudice existing against that Church in the minds of many is bitter and utterly unreasonable. There are those who through prejudice are prepared to believe any charge, however contrary to reason, against it, without any investigation, and to hold it responsible for intemperate language used by any man holding the priestly office, acting on his own responsibility, under strong provocation and influenced by the heat of passion. This being the case, it can be a matter of no great surprise that the warning given to members of the "Molly" organization should receive the most uncharitable construction, especially as the act would seemingly bear it out. To shield criminals, to save them from punishment for brutal murder in the past, and to leave them to pursue unchecked a course of horrible crime in the future, is not in accordance with either the teachings of the Christian religion or the dictates of common humanity. Any steps tending to the relief of a terror-stricken people, who, feeling powerless, surrender unresistingly property and life itself to cold-blooded brutality, should, it would seem, receive the support of right-thinking men. That notice of the fact that James McKenna was a detective

was given to members of the organization through Catholic priests has never been denied. The notice so given makes those pause and doubt who are most desirous not to believe, not even to imagine, the possibility of evil.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to credit that any respectable portion of the Catholic priests sympathized with or countenanced in any way the Molly Maguires. It is impossible to believe that Father O'Conner, of Mahanoy Plane, who has been most publicly implicated in the matter, should desire in any way to screen them or aid them in the maintenance of their bloody work. His history ever since he has been in the coal region would indicate an entirely different state of feeling on his part. In the public press, over his own signature, and from the pulpit, he was open in his denunciations. Hardly a month had passed since he had read the pastoral letter of Archbishop Wood excommunicating all lawless societies, and especially the "Molly Maguires." In his sermon, delivered at a time of great excitement, and with many of the most desperate of the organization among his hearers, he had the courage to denounce them in most unmeasured terms. He referred to the Wiggan's Patch murder, and claimed that, as the victim was a "Molly," full sympathy should not be extended. He impressed upon them the fact that war was not being waged upon women, and that Mrs. McAllister was evidently shot by mistake. He stigmatized the order as a disgrace to the Irish people and a blot upon the Irish name. He bade them to beware of the order for their own sake and for the sake of their children; to hold no communication with friend or even brother who belonged to it, for it was outside the pale of humanity and cut off from connection with the Church; under no pretense to show sympathy with them; to let them fight their own battles unaided; that they were the scum of the earth, a disgrace to the Church, to Ireland, and to America.

That Father O'Conner was sincere in his sermon delivered that day there can be no doubt. The sentiments he then expressed are in accordance with his whole record, before and since. What is the explanation? Unfortunately, although willing and anxious to explain before a legal tribunal, he could not do so, objection being made. He is a man of high character, and sincerely anxious for both the spiritual and the temporal welfare of his flock. He is of handsome and commanding presence, is a gentleman, a man of culture, and has broad and extended views. His nature, his instincts, his education, and his religion all teach him to understand, to appreciate, to despise and fearlessly condemn the horrible order by the members of which he is surrounded, and who are the subjects of his anxious thoughts and earnest solicitude. He groans under not only the disgrace they bring upon the religion of which he is a priest, but the disaffection they breed in the Church. He mourns for the jeopardy in which they are placing body and soul here and hereafter. As a man, he shudders at their horrible barbarity; as a priest, he trembles for their personal welfare and safety not only in this world, but in the world to come; as an Irish-American citizen, he grieves for the honor of Ireland sullied and for America disgraced, and with foreboding he contemplates their pernicious influence in the future upon their own families and upon the country at large. Can it be possible that the inborn prejudice against an "informer," which seems to be part of the Irish nature, transmitted through generations, unconsciously influenced his mind contrary to his instincts, his nature, his education, and his religion? Can it be that when it was announced that a detective was in the midst of this lawless gang, contempt for the "informer" and pity for the unsuspicious criminal for the moment affected his judgment? Did he believe that the detective was the instigator of crimes that he might betray them? If the

last was his belief, he had learned the "Molly Maguire" history to little purpose. That his reasons were at the time satisfactory to his own mind is certain. His purity and honesty of purpose are unquestionable, but, in this matter, even in the exercise of the utmost charity his judgment must be regarded as at fault.

When Jack Kehoe heard that McKenna was a detective he gave the report instant credence. It was believed that there was a spy among them, and that such spy was held in general confidence. Who so likely as McKenna? He was a comparative stranger. He was without visible means of support; he had never engaged in any scheme of fraud by which money could be obtained; and yet he was always in funds. Who more likely? The thought caused Jack Kehoe to shudder, for he knew the extent of McKenna's information and the power he possessed. He had been his own trusted friend and confidant, but the idea once suggested, he knew it to be correct.

On the theory of his being a detective the arrest of McAllister and Munley for the murder of Sanger and Uren could be accounted for. He sent his wife at once to Pottsville, directing her to see Danny Hughes, the keeper of a drinking-saloon and restaurant where "Mollies" from all parts of the region resorted when in Pottsville, and inform him that McKenna was a detective, against whom he should be on his guard, and also to request Hughes to notify all members of the order that such was the fact, obtained from a reliable source.

McKenna was then in Pottsville, and had been for several days previously. Upon the day of the morning of the habeas corpus hearing he walked down straight from the court-house with Frank McAndrew, body-master of the Shenandoah Division, who gave him the first intimation of the story afloat. He told him that it was rumored that he was a detective, and that the report was being discussed

throughout the order; that very many could not credit it, but that very morning bets had been made in the cars that he would appear on the stand that day as a witness for the Commonwealth in the habeas corpus hearing of Munley and McAllister.

McKenna on the instant made a rapid review of the situation. He appreciated the fact that since the time of the Doyle trial a belief had been gaining ground that a detective was at work in their midst. He had himself, with his usual policy, fallen into the current of opinion. Muff Lawler had been suspected, and McKenna had with a number of the members of the order discussed the question of his guilt or innocence. He knew not only from his experience in that case but from life-long experience upon what slight foundations a suspicion could be aroused, and he hoped that by assuming a defiant attitude he could crush out the doubts with which he was regarded, and not only retain but increase his power. Every force of mind and body was engaged in the task he had undertaken. He had worked for years to attain the position he then held as an influential member of the order. He had gained universal confidence. He had lifted the veil that had shrouded in mystery many a bloody deed of past years, and he could now, if firmly established, quickly and thoroughly complete his work. He did not for a moment dream of yielding to the current setting in against him. He resolved to show fight.

Nor were his hopes without foundation. He was exceedingly popular. He had ever appeared to show the greatest devotion to the order. He was cool and determined, was without personal fear, and could, if necessity in his judgment demanded it, present the appearance of exceeding rashness. He had thus won great admiration. His ingenuity had at the same time been taxed to prevent the commission of crime. He would display zeal for and ap-

proval of the object in view, would discard any question of his own personal safety, but in his prudent care for others generally defeated the job, at the same time adding to his own reputation as a "safe hand for a clean job." More than this, he possessed the power of intellect, ever on the alert and directed to a fixed object. Beyond all this, nature had endowed him with that peculiar magnetism of manner which all appreciate but no one can understand.

He determined on the instant to join issue. He was apparently thunderstruck at the idea. That he of all men should be suspected was monstrous. He spoke of his steady and unswerving devotion to the organization, the sacrifices he had made for it.

McAndrew, who was much attached to McKenna, quickly sympathized with him, and regretted that the rumor had become so wide-spread. "As it is," said he, "you must prove your innocence before a county convention." This was in direct accordance with McKenna's views; he believed that no proof against him could be produced, and that a demand for the most thorough investigation would in itself completely vindicate him.

A large number of "Mollies" from different points were in Pottsville on that day, by reason of the hearing in the case of Munley and McAllister. McKenna set to work at once to manufacture sentiment in his favor. He proceeded to Danny Hughes's saloon, where he met a number of the order. Hughes told him of the word received through Mrs. Kehoe. McKenna was indignant, was surprised, was mortified that such a false and malicious report should be spread against him of all men. Danny Hughes said that he did not believe it. They took a drink all around at McKenna's expense. In the midst of McKenna's indignation his sensibilities were affected; he could bear anything but that; that was too much.

"They had wounded the spirit that loved them."

Perhaps at no time in his whole career had McKenna been more popular than on that day in Pottsville. He carried the crowd by storm; he was greeted with the warmest expressions of sympathy. That evening he left them and went to Shenandoah.

There his old associates were with him. He disarmed suspicion. He defied, nay, courted investigation. It was his right, and a most thorough and searching examination must be had. He insisted upon being brought face to face with his accuser.

The next morning he went to Girardville. He saw Jack Kehoe, and assumed with him a like innocent, injured, and very indignant air. "Why," said he, "do you spread these reports about me?"

McKenna's manner frightened Jack Kehoe, and for the time being staggered even him in his belief. He excused himself. "I did it," he answered, "because I heard it. I heard it some time since, and I heard it again lately."

"Where did you hear it?" demanded McKenna.

"I heard it from a conductor on the Reading Railroad," was the answer. "He called me into the baggage-car, and asked me whether I had seen you lately, and said that I might be certain that you were a detective. I told him that it was not the first time I had heard the charge made against you."

McKenna denounced the charge as a foul slander, and demanded as his right that a convention of the order be called and the matter investigated.

"What I want now," said he, "is somebody to prove it. I am willing to let the society try me. I will let the society try me; and if I find out the man who is lying about me, I will make him suffer. It is a terrible thing to charge a man like me with being a detective."

Kehoe agreed with McKenna that the request was reasonable, and that there should be a county convention, as he

suggested. He requested that McKenna should write the letters,—he being too nervous,—calling it in his name, to meet in Ferguson's Hall, in Shenandoah, about the 1st of March.

McKenna, taking writing materials up-stairs, wrote, as authorized, to the several body-masters of Schuylkill County, and, putting the letters in stamped envelopes, directed them, and handed them to Kehoe to mail.

He stopped that night at Kehoe's house. His manner had, for the time being, the desired effect. Kehoe was almost disarmed. The star of McKenna was in the ascendant, and, feeling great confidence in his ability to maintain his position, he returned the next day to Pottsville. There he assumed a bold and aggressive tone. He said to Patrick Butler, body-master of Lost Creek, as well as to others, "I am not waiting for the order to take action upon me; I will take action upon myself; I will have a meeting, and I will have a fair trial."

CHAPTER XXV.

McPARLAN'S DANGERS, AND HIS ESCAPE.

KEHOE was only shaken in his belief of McKenna's guilt, not thoroughly convinced of his innocence. He, however, assumed, in conversation with him, an air of entire confidence. The manner of McKenna tended to create a doubt of any testimony that might be produced, and yet the evidence in his possession against him was felt to be unquestionable.

The two met in Pottsville on the 26th of February.

Kehoe greeted McKenna cordially, and manifested his usual confidence. They were about retaining John W. Ryon, Esq., to defend McAllister.

In the afternoon of the same day they met again.

"Have you any news?" asked McKenna.

"I have a good deal of news," Kehoe replied. "There are about twenty-five hundred men banded together in this county for the purpose of prosecuting the Ancient Order of Hibernians. There is positive proof that there are detectives among them, and that these detectives get money to go around and spend, and find out all their secrets, in order to either send them to the penitentiary or hang them."

"There has been in my mind," said McKenna, "for some time past an idea that there is something crooked going on, and that is the reason I am doubly cautious. But," continued he, "from whom have you received this information now?"

"From Mr. John W. Ryon; that is the man; he is after telling me in his office," Kehoe replied.

It is not probable that Kehoe reported literally Mr. Ryon's remarks, but it is likely that Mr. Ryon suspected the fact that detectives were at work: the action of the Commonwealth betrayed inside knowledge.

Away from McKenna, the suspicions of Kehoe returned with redoubled force. That there was one detective—perhaps more—among them could not be doubted. The whole conduct of the Commonwealth, the confidence manifested, the startling arrests made independent of any testimony of Kerrigan, rendered the matter sure. The direct information received implicating McKenna, and the recurring question, "Who so likely?" dispelled all doubt,—and in Jack Kehoe's mind McKenna was condemned to death. There should be no convention, no trial,—it would be useless. Before the time fixed for the convention the blow

should be struck, and the life of McKenna rendered up. He acted vigorously; he created sentiment against the suspected man; he asserted that his information was undoubted.

He came to Pottsville the day previous to that fixed for the convention, and asked McKenna if he was going to Shenandoah that night. He was told that he was; and an arrangement was made that they should meet in the afternoon.

Kehoe at once returned to Shenandoah. He called Frank McAndrew, the body-master of the division, and a number of the order together. He told McAndrew that McKenna was a detective beyond doubt; that he must be killed. "For God's sake, have him killed to-night," said he, "or he will hang half the people in Schuylkill County."

Kehoe treated freely. Friendship to McKenna in all except McAndrew was shaken, and even he finally gave way. The murder was agreed to, and in the evening after the arrival of the train twelve or fourteen men assembled on purpose to do the deed. Some had axes, some tomahawks, and some the sledges used in the mines. They were afraid to use fire-arms, on account of the police and assembled crowd.

In the mean time, McKenna was confident that his plans were working satisfactorily. Kehoe did not meet him during the afternoon according to appointment; but this he judged was accidental. But he quickly discovered that, notwithstanding all his efforts to create confidence, there was a counteracting influence at work. In a conversation with a man named Mullen, from Tuscarora, he found that the assembling of the convention was being secretly opposed. Mullen said that the idea was abroad that he was certainly a detective, and that he wanted to get all the body-masters and other officers together in Ferguson's Hall,

Shenandoah, and have them arrested in a body by the Coal and Iron Police. McKenna laughed at this idea, told him that such a thing would not be lawful, and insisted upon the fact that he had the meeting called in good faith.

The conversation made an impression upon him. He was intensely anxious to gain his end and establish in their view his innocence. He saw Captain Linden and asked him to keep the Coal and Iron Police away next day; that he was perfectly satisfied he could make the convention believe he was no detective. "I believe," said he, "I can fight them right through."

Captain Linden objected to this. He thought McKenna was taking too great a risk; but, like him, he was anxious that he should establish his point with the convention. Captain Linden therefore unwillingly consented that he should make the venture without even a shadow of protection.

McKenna took the evening train for Shenandoah. He was sitting in the smoking-car, when Marcus O'Donnell. a brother of Mrs. Kehoe, told him that his sister was in the ladies' car and desired to see him. At Mahanoy City he went into the car, and found that her husband was not with her. He asked where he was. She replied that he had gone up by way of Frackville that afternoon, whilst she had visited her mother in Tamaqua.

The idea of immediate personal danger then first presented itself. Kehoe had assumed friendship; had told him to be sure and be in Shenandoah that night,—that he would meet him on the way. McKenna knew Kehoe thoroughly, and he saw danger ahead.

His suspicions were still further excited upon his arrival at the Reading Railroad depot at Shenandoah. He had sent word to McAndrew that he was coming that evening, and usually, in such case, he would be met at the cars by a number of his associates, who would give him the news, and

with whom he would take a drink. This evening he was met by no one. This looked ominous; but he was well armed, and prepared to defend himself if necessary.

Passing up-street, he met none of the order until he came to McHugh's saloon. He stopped and spoke to McHugh. He was asked to take a drink, and said he would take some porter. McHugh was in a tremor; he had difficulty in getting the cork out of the bottle; he was deathly pale.

McKenna asked him if he had the ague; had he been on a spree, or was he sick? McHugh said no, but he was very cold. The question was then asked by McKenna as to whether he had heard the report that he was a detective. McHugh said that he had, but did not believe it; that he would attend the convention next day, and see how things were going on.

The aspect of affairs grew still more ominous. Passing up-street, he met a man named Mike McDermott, a member of the order, with whom he was on very friendly terms. McDermott scarcely spoke to him. Farther on he saw Edward Sweeny, another member, across the street at a lamp-post. He called to him and asked if he had seen McAndrew. Sweeny, coming over, said that he had, about an hour since. "Had he gone to bed?" Sweeny thought not. The manner of Sweeny tended to confirm McKenna in his belief that foul play was intended. He did not dare, however, to let his suspicions appear, and acted as if he had not noticed the change in his reception. He determined, if possible, to learn the full extent of his danger. He knew that, usually, he had much influence with McAndrew; but he had been popular with all his associates, and he feared there was not one left upon whom he could rely. He mistrusted the immediate intentions of his companion. They walked together towards McAndrew's house, but McKenna, adjusting his pistol so as to have it within easy reach, managed to get Sweeny a step or two ahead, and to

keep him there. When they arrived at McAndrew's house, McKenna, making a strong effort, endeavored to act as if he were certain of a cordial reception. But the effort was in vain. The conversation was constrained. There was something in contemplation which was concealed from him. Two men were standing outside the house without apparent purpose; one was within, restless and disturbed, as if waiting for some signal. McAndrew appeared nervous, uneasy, undecided. Sweeny got up and said he was going away; to this McAndrew did not respond.

Sweeny then left, but presently returned with a piece of snow in his hand, which he threw at McAndrew's foot. It was evidently intended to call McAndrew's attention to the fact that time was passing and that nothing was being done.

McAndrew hesitated, looked for a moment at McKenna, and then said, "My feet are sore; I believe I will take off my boots."

This was intended, and understood, to mean that the scheme which had been adopted to inveigle McKenna into a crowd of men, by whom he was to be beaten and hacked in pieces, was, by McAndrew at least, that night abandoned. Sweeny then left.

McKenna, concealing his suspicions, asked McAndrew in a careless way what arrangements had been made about the meeting, and received the answer that the hall had been rented, and that everything was right.

But he was no longer in doubt. He knew that his death was determined upon, and that any instant the attack might be made. Still, there was much at stake; he had confidence in his own power; if he could only get a hearing he was satisfied he could disarm suspicion and retrieve his popularity; but in the mean time he had to save himself from present danger. When he left McAndrew's, instead of taking his usual route to his boarding-house, he

passed to the back of the house into a swamp, through which he made his way, and in this manner succeeded in reaching home undiscovered.

During the following hours he had no sleep. He knew the character of his "Molly" associates, and their modes of action. He knew Jack Kehoe. He knew the ease with which he could be dragged from his bed and murdered; and with a full determination, in the event of an attack, to make his life cost them dear, he sat up all night, waiting anxiously for the first gleam of dawn.

In the morning he saw McAndrew. He met also Ned Monaghan, the constable of Shenandoah, James Carlin, the body-master at St. Nicholas, and Florence Mahony, the body-master at Turkey Run; but there was no appearance of a gathering convention. About eleven o'clock in the morning two "Mollies" from Mount Laffee came in. Their names were Dennis Dowlan and Mike Doyle. Doyle was getting drunk, and both presented the appearance of having been up the night before. They said they had just come in the cars; but, as no cars arrived at Shenandoah at that time, the falsehood was manifest.

McKenna at once made up his mind that these men were selected to kill him. Dowlan took him aside, and asked what was the matter, saying he had not heard. McKenna stated the case, and then Dowlan asserted that he did not believe he was guilty.

Desperate as the position was becoming, the detective determined to make another effort. He announced that he was going to Girardville to see John Kehoe and learn why it was no meeting had been held that day. He hired a horse and sleigh, and asked McAndrew to go with him. Doyle by this time was drunk and in bed. Ned Monaghan and Dennis Dowlan said they also would go; and, another sleigh having been hired, they all set off together. McKenna, on their way, asked McAndrew to explain.

McAndrew hesitated for a moment; he seemed in doubt, but then said, "See here; you had better look out for Dowlan, the man in the sleigh with Monaghan; he calculates to take your life." At the same time he asked, "Have you pistols?"

McKenna answered, "Yes."

"So have I," said he, "and I will lose my life for you. I do not know whether you are a detective or not, but I do not know anything against you. I always knew you to do right, and I will stand by you. Why don't they try you fair?"

It was this point that, independent of the friendship he had for McKenna, seemed to influence McAndrew. The charge of being a detective was indignantly denied by McKenna, and a full investigation demanded. It had been refused, and, without a hearing or opportunity given to vindicate himself, he was to be murdered in cold blood, and, as his friend, McAndrew would not consent to such action.

On their way McAndrew told of Jack Kehoe's visit to Shenandoah the day before, and the agreement then made to kill him. He told of the party in wait for him, armed with axes, tomahawks, and sledges. He was to be inveigled among them and assassinated. McAndrew said, "I saved your life last night. You were in queer company then, and you will find you are in queer company now."

McKenna's determination never faltered; he said, "I do not care a cent, I am going to Kehoe's."

Kehoe was dumfounded when he saw the party. His plan had not worked. The man who he thought had already been assassinated had called to see him, on apparently the best of terms with the man who was to have assassinated him.

McKenna indignantly demanded of Kehoe the reason

why the meeting had not been held. Kehoe replied that it was useless, that they were satisfied there was no use in trying him, and that he had countermanded the order given for a convention. There was a crowd of "Mollies" assembled there, and, notwithstanding the satisfaction Kehoe pretended to feel, the appearance of matters was threatening.

McKenna insisted that Kehoe had injured him, and that it was only justice that under the circumstances he should have a trial; that he wanted to know who it was that dared to charge him with being a detective. As McKenna himself expresses it, he "took the opportunity of blowing a little."

Kehoe said that McDermott, conductor on the Shenandoah branch, had said that if he (McKenna) would go to Father O'Conner, of Mahanoy Plane, he would find it all out.

Notwithstanding McKenna had, as he says, taken this opportunity of "blowing a little," the information given him by Jack Kehoe, that the charge of his being a detective came from the Catholic clergy, startled him. He knew that very many of the "Molly Maguires" were Catholics only in name and from policy; that they were infidels, materialists; that some had so far thrown off allegiance to the Church as either to refuse upon their dying bed its last rites or to receive them with ill-concealed aversion.

But he knew at the same time that, whilst these men had but little regard for or belief in religion, a charge against him of being a detective, indorsed by the clergy, would be almost irresistible; the ministers, if not the religion, claimed respect. Still, even in this untoward position he did not despair. The air of unflinching defiance which he assumed of everybody and everything was absolutely necessary to insure his present safety, and in asserting that he intended to see Father O'Conner he meant what he

said. For the future operations of the Agency in the coal region it was requisite to discover how much was known, and he believed that Father O'Conner would be frank with him. After that interview he could resolve upon his future course.

But the crowd gathered at Jack Kehoe's that day was, as McAndrew remarked, "queer company;" the only man whom he could at all depend upon was McAndrew himself. It was intended to murder him then and there.* A bright idea struck the detective. He would excite the sympathies of Mrs. Kehoe in his behalf. Mrs. Kehoe possessed considerable influence in "Molly" circles. She is an O'Donnell, a sister of Friday and Charles O'Donnell, a cousin of James Carroll's wife. She is a high-strung woman, of considerable force of character, but, like most persons of quick emotion, sympathetic in temperament. McKenna found her in the kitchen, and to her, as his friend, he told his story, and to her knowledge of his full and entire devotion to the order he appealed. He became very much affected as he recounted all he had done and sacrificed, and was then doing and sacrificing, to advance the general interest; but he said he did not care for that, he was willing to do anything, to bear anything, except suspicion. Mrs. Kehoe was fast giving way; her sympathies were being excited. McKenna saw his advantage and clinched it. He could bear even suspicion, he said, but, after all he had done, not the charge of being an informer,—not that; and then he pulled out his handkerchief and burst into tears. McKenna was not a beautiful object as he sat there in his red wig and rough dress; but

* The intention was to take him into either the back room or shed and murder him. His body was to remain there until night, when it was to be carried away and thrown down some old slope. McKenna was supposed to have no relatives who would make any inquiries. They thought the murder would excite no attention.

the sympathies of the woman were fully aroused, and he was the conqueror. She grasped the poker, and vowed she would make any one suffer who should attempt to touch him.

But he had not succeeded in allaying the suspicions of the husband; he had only secured present safety. Even his avowed resolution to see Father O'Conner had not the desired effect. His death was determined upon, to be compassed at the first opportunity, and in the mean time he was to be closely watched. Upon his announcement of an immediate visit to Father O'Conner, Thomas Donahue and Philip Nash, without his knowledge, started ahead of him. Upon his arrival at Mahanoy Plane he met them at William Callahan's saloon. McAndrew had come over with him, as had also Dowlan and Monaghan.

Nash and Donahue called McAndrew aside, and had a conversation with him. McKenna, intent on his purpose, went at once to see Father O'Conner, but did not find him at home. Upon his return McAndrew informed him that the three men wanted to kill him at once and there, but that he had refused his consent. Donahue and Nash had not insisted upon the matter, but Dowlan seemed determined, and said that he would do the job himself. He wanted McAndrew to lend him his pistol in addition to the one he already had, but this was refused.

Dowlan, probably for the purpose of screwing his courage up to the proper point, took one drink after another, and was fast becoming very drunk. This was perhaps fortunate for him. McKenna, in the midst of his dangers, was determined, and after the warning from McAndrew would not have lost his life without a severe struggle.

McAndrew had now fairly enlisted in McKenna's behalf; he insisted that Dowlan, on account of his drunken condition, should be left at Callahan's, and that Monaghan should drive to Shenandoah alone in his sleigh.

There was an intention that the detective should be murdered that night in his boarding-house, and for that purpose a number of men pretending to be tramps were around the house the greater part of the night awaiting his arrival. But this scheme was also thwarted by McAndrew. When McKenna proposed to go to his boarding-house, "No," said he; "you sleep with me."

"Why?" was asked.

"It makes no difference; you sleep with me," was the reply.

McKenna did so, and next morning went to Pottsville, and in the afternoon returned to Mahanoy Plane to see Father O'Conner. But he was again unsuccessful; the priest was still absent.

At Callahan's he met McAndrew, Dowlan, and Doyle who had been left at Shenandoah drunk the day before. McAndrew told him of the escape he had made the preceding night. The whole party treated him cordially. But his main object now was to see Father O'Conner; upon that interview depended his future course. He concluded that he would not risk another night in Shenandoah. He returned to Pottsville.

He saw Captain Linden that night and told him of the dangers by which he was surrounded, but persisted in his resolution of finding to what extent the suspicions had gone. He proposed, therefore, to go to Mahanoy Plane next day. Linden agreed as to the importance of the visit, but said he would shadow him with police-officers; which he did.

He desired a witness to his interview, and the next day he asked Callahan to go with him; but Callahan refused, saying that he had had words with the father on account of a sermon he had preached against the "Molly Maguires."

McKenna went alone, and this time found Father

O'Conner at home. But he had observed a man named Michael Dooley, a member of the order, following him, and had also heard him enter the kitchen, ask the servant-girl for a chair, and seat himself near the door. The fact of there being a listener in the next room somewhat regulated his conversation.

He told Father O'Conner that he was the McKenna whom he had represented as a detective; that such representation had greatly injured him; that it had in fact ruined him in the estimation of some of his fellow-citizens, who were greatly enraged against him by reason of the report. He insisted that it was not true, and asked him to deny it. Father O'Conner replied that he had heard he was a detective, and, although he had no personal acquaintance with him, he thought that he was cognizant of crime long before its perpetration, which he could and should have prevented. He thought that he acted as a sort of stool-pigeon; that he knew all about crimes and took part in them, instead of reporting them as a detective; and he did not think it right. He said it was true he had written a letter to Kehoe, and had given it to a party to deliver, but that it had been brought back.

He said, further, that he had heard that he (McKenna) was a detective belonging to the Pinkerton Agency of Chicago, and that that Agency was employed by the Reading Railroad Company; that Father Ryon, of Mahanoy City, and Father Reilly, of Shenandoah, knew more about the matter than he did.

Father O'Conner was earnest in his denunciations of the "Molly Maguires." He said he had given these men warning time and again of the fate that awaited them, but they would not hearken to his voice and leave the organization, and that now they must suffer.

McKenna was equally earnest and louder in his defense of the order. It was a good society. He had belonged

to it a number of years, and he knew it to be all right. All the crimes committed in the county were attributed to the order; but they were not guilty of crime: on the contrary, they tried to prevent it; that was their special object.

It is beyond doubt that Father O'Conner believed McKenna to be a very bad man and a participant in crime.

He said, "You were seen around Tamaqua about the time Kelly, Doyle, and Kerrigan were arrested, and you were seen in very close company with Kerrigan a little before Jones was shot."

"I had business in Tamaqua," was the reply. "I was sparking Kerrigan's sister-in-law, and of course I had to keep close company with the brother."

At this the father laughed, and said he saw no great harm in that.

McKenna then took leave of Father O'Conner, stating that he was going to see Father Ryon to get things straightened out, and that when he had done so he would notify him, in order that he might inform the congregation that he was no detective.

Father O'Conner replied that if things were settled up in that way he would be happy so to state, as he had been injured in the estimation of his friends.

McKenna met Tom Donahue at Callahan's. He told them that it was all right, that he was going to see Father Reilly on the following day, but that he must return to Pottsville that night. Both Donahue and Callahan seemed pleased at the result.

On his way to the railway station he stopped at Dooley's, who, on seeing him, laughed.

"I heard every word of it," said he. "I was at Father O'Conner's all the time, and it was a 'cute thing the way you gave your reasons for being in Tamaqua."

McKenna acknowledged the compliment.

"You gave the society a good lift," said Dooley.

"I know I did."

"You were telling the truth," was the next assertion.

McKenna assented, left him, and went to the Frackville station.

The career of McKenna as an operating detective in the coal region was over. His conversation with Father O'Conner had satisfied him that he was known, and that further concealment was impossible. He came that evening to Pottsville on the same train with Captain Linden. The next morning he left for Philadelphia.

But he had succeeded in mystifying the organization. His loud assertions of innocence, his demand for a trial, his persistent efforts to see Father O'Conner, and, above all, the conversation overheard by Dooley, combined to increase the doubt felt by many as to his being a detective.

His disappearance created no surprise. Innocent or guilty, in the coal region his life was in danger. Shortly after he left, the case of Kelly was on trial at Mauch Chunk. It was known to the order that in this case he could be a most important witness for the Commonwealth, but the prosecution did not seem aware of his existence. He had entirely disappeared from view. It was hoped and believed by Kehoe and others that there had been a false alarm. Under any circumstances it was supposed that he had been frightened away.

James McKenna was being forgotten; James McParlan, the detective, they had never heard of.

CHAPTER XXVI.

KERRIGAN THE INFORMER—THE TRIAL OF KELLY—PREPARATIONS FOR THE YOST TRIAL.

THE excitement occasioned throughout the entire community by the confession of James Kerrigan has been heretofore referred to. That confession was the immediate cause of alarm to the "Molly Maguire" organization. That McKenna was a detective was, in its worst phase, only a subject of suspicion, whilst in the matter of Kerrigan there was immediate, direct, positive danger.

Notwithstanding the fact that McKenna's death had been determined upon, and that a large number of the organization had been willing to compass it, it must be borne in mind that such action on their part by no means indicated any firm and well-grounded belief in their minds as to the truth of the charge made against him. Once he had become an object of suspicion and momentary dislike, the death of an innocent man, occasioned by themselves, would excite no compunctions.

Whilst, as a matter of fact, they had never throughout the coal regions suffered by reason of the spy, informer, or detective, nothing was more common than the denunciation of parties innocent of even such a thought, with the deliberate purpose to betray them.

This grew out of the morbid suspicion with which their natures are cursed. But suspicion had in every case heretofore proved without foundation, and although in this instance the directness of the charge made and the source from which it emanated might well excite alarm, their

hopefulness of character induced them to dismiss unpleasant forebodings.

It must also be considered that, bright and quick-witted, they understand one another perfectly. Sympathetic in a high degree, they will accord to a morbid suspicion all the force and consequences of an established fact, and act accordingly, but at the same time it excites no surprise when it appears that what has been asserted as a fact proves to be mere groundless suspicion. They are governed perhaps more by impulse and prejudice than they are by reason.

McKenna was thoroughly aware of this peculiarity, and hence it was that he had a firm faith that, once having a hearing before a convention, he could mould them through their impulses and passions, even were the evidence stronger against him than he then believed it to be.

Jack Kehoe, too, understood this trait in their character; he had himself been shaken in his belief by the magnetism of McKenna's presence. He was not disposed to run any risks, and therefore he had countermanded the order for a convention, and decided upon his death without giving him the opportunity for a hearing.

Reason might have taught them that the charge made was true; but the courage that induced McKenna to incur a danger of which they knew he understood the full extent, his whole bearing and conduct on the last days of his intercourse with them, and, above all, the fact that, after demand made, he had been denied a fair trial, created sympathy and a disposition to accept his protestations of innocence.

In regard to Kerrigan, however, there was no question. He had been guilty of the highest crime known in "Molly" ethics, and had done that which aroused against him the feelings of the Irish peasants as a class, however opposed as individuals they might be to the "Molly" organization and to "Molly" crimes.

When Jimmy Kerrigan made his confession the great mass of the community rejoiced. A way seemed to be opened by means of which dark crimes would be punished, property rendered more secure, and a series of bloody, revolting, and aimless murders checked. It was true that according to his own account he was perhaps as bad as any of his fellows charged with crime, if not worse. It was true that he had always been lawless and desperate, and, except that as a soldier during the war he had borne himself gallantly and well, there was nothing to relieve the unbroken record of a vicious life. It was also true that there is nothing either heroic or lovable in the character of an informer actuated by a mere hope of personal escape from punishment; on the contrary, there is in human nature a proneness to admire the more courageous scoundrel, who, regardless of consequences, resisting all temptation, stands, in the face of death itself, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with his companions in misfortune.

But it was not material in the minds of the mass of the community whether Jimmy Kerrigan was a hero or a dishonorable, cowardly wretch; he was guilty of murder, self-convicted; the question was, whether through his means dark crimes could be unmasked, criminals brought to justice, and an era of law and order inaugurated.

That an "informer" could be found had been long hoped for; and now that one had come forward, there was no disposition to believe that because *he* was wicked and guilty those implicated by his confessions were pure and innocent.

That upon his uncorroborated testimony men should suffer the extreme penalty of the law no one claimed and no one desired, but there was no feeling of indignation aroused to prevent his testimony having weight if properly supported. If he told the truth, there was little fear felt but that he would be sustained by cumulative proof.

But by many, very many of the best of Irish-American citizens, the news of Kerrigan's confession was received with ill-concealed indignation. Men blameless in their lives, devoted to their Church, abhorring the "Molly Maguires" and holding no intimate intercourse with its members, and who truly and sincerely bewailed the bondage of terrorism under which the coal region was held, denounced Kerrigan in unmeasured terms, and proclaimed him unworthy of belief. The evil deeds of his past life were brought to light. With them it was Kerrigan who was discussed, Kerrigan who was vindictively denounced, Kerrigan who was held in special abhorrence.

Was there other testimony against the men charged with the murder of Yost? That point was not considered.

What were their antecedents? What had been their lives? Might they not be guilty? and, if guilty, should they not be convicted?

No matter! Kerrigan was to be upon the witness-stand; Kerrigan was to testify against them. Kerrigan was an "informer," and therefore, forgetting the crime committed, forgetting laws, human and divine, trampled under foot, sympathy was extended to the prisoners, and it was insisted that a conviction, Kerrigan being the witness, would be an outrage.

A good Irishman is equal to any other good man, of whatever nationality. It happens, unfortunately, however, that whilst good men of other nationalities rejoice in the detection and punishment of crime, good Irishmen, as a class, rejoice only when that detection and punishment have been brought about by other means than that of the "informer."

From this prejudice, almost inherent in the Irish nature, much of the trouble in the anthracite coal region has arisen.

That there are exceptions to the universality of this

prejudice is admitted. That prejudices and modes of thought having their origin beyond the ocean, with no application to existing conditions here, should be discarded is not only of great moment to the whole body of the nation, but is absolutely essential to the welfare of Irish-American citizens. If their prejudice against an "informer" is to induce sympathy with criminals, they will themselves be responsible for general judgment against the whole body of the Irish people.*

But if the indignation of very many of the best of Irishmen arose against Kerrigan, the intensity of feeling among the "Mollies" can be better imagined than described. No man with whom he had intimately associated or had been on terms of friendship spoke of him except with curses. Aid of every kind, from such, was withdrawn. Men whom he had never seen, never heard of, had been willing to come forward and perjure themselves in his behalf. Now, however, that he had proved to be an "informer," even the wife who had been his faithful friend and companion, ready to screen him from the consequences of his darkest crimes, who had borne his brutality when, drunken and quarrelsome, he had made his home a hell on earth, who had experienced with him want and suffering without a murmur, who loved him, sympathized with him, did kindly, tender things when he was accused of murder and confined in prison,—even she now turned against him. The walls of the jail were the only protection for his life.

During the prevalence of this feeling the case of the

* Since the true character of the "Molly Maguire" has been shown by indisputable testimony, there has been open denunciation of the order by the Irish people in the anthracite coal regions as well as elsewhere. That they should be unwilling to believe in the possibility of so terrible an organization among Irishmen is natural; they regard the order as not only a disgrace to common humanity but as a special stigma upon the Irish name.

Commonwealth *vs.* Edward Kelly, for the murder of John P. Jones, was on the 27th day of March, 1876, called for trial at Mauch Chunk. The same counsel appeared on the part of the Commonwealth as in the Doyle case. On the part of the defense appeared Hon. Lin Bartholomew, Daniel Kalbfus, Esq., General John D. Bertolette, and Edward Mulhearn, Esq. Application was also made in this case for a change of venue and refused.

After disposing of all dilatory pleas, Judge Dreher directed a jury to be called. The trial occupied about ten days. The evidence was a repetition of that already given on the trial of Doyle, and was of the same overwhelming and crushing character. The whole story of the crime was given in evidence, and the prisoner was identified as one of the murderers. Great excitement prevailed, but not approaching in intensity to that existing during the trial of Doyle.

It had been confidently expected that James Kerrigan would be offered as a witness; but the experienced counsel for the prosecution were too wary for such a course. Without him they felt secure in establishing by unquestionable testimony the guilt of the prisoner. They did not propose to open the door to testimony relative to the character of Kerrigan and thus furnish material for the speeches of the prisoner's counsel in any attack that might be made on him.

By reason of this policy being adopted, this case, like the one before tried, was submitted to the jury on the testimony offered by the Commonwealth.

The prisoner's counsel made eloquent appeals. They urged that a doubt might exist as to the guilt of the prisoner, and they invoked sympathy on account of his youth, and for the sufferings of the poor, desolate, widowed, almost crazed mother of the boy.

The review of the testimony by the Commonwealth, by

which every point was covered, removed any possibility of doubt, and a reference to the widowed wife and orphaned children of John P. Jones changed the current of sympathy.

The charge of Judge Dreher was, as usual, clear, methodical, unimpassioned,—a calm review of the facts and the law.

On the morning of the 6th of April, the jury, for the second time in the history of the anthracite coal regions, rendered a verdict of "murder in the first degree" against a "Molly Maguire."

A motion was made and reasons were filed for a new trial. A few days afterwards an argument was heard, and the motion dismissed.

The prisoner was sentenced to death by Judge Dreher.

Death-warrants were issued by Governor Hartranft fixing the day of execution for Doyle, May 3, and for Kelly, May 4, 1876.

On the 27th of April writs of error were taken to the Supreme Court, which superseded the death-warrants for the time being. The cases have not at the time of this writing been argued.

To say that by the verdicts in the cases of Doyle and Kelly, and the prompt issuing of the death-warrants by the Governor fixing a day of execution, with the confession of Kerrigan, the "Molly Maguires" were thoroughly aroused and alarmed, hardly expresses their condition. They were almost, but not quite, panic-stricken.*

It is true that their usual defense of an "alibi," in which, from experience, they had learned to place implicit con-

* By a number of the most ignorant among them the acquittal of Kelly had been anticipated, Doyle having been already convicted of the same offense. That two men should suffer for the same murder was, according to their ideas, rank injustice. This view was strongly urged by Irishwomen of "Molly" proclivities.

fidence, had in these cases proved unavailing; nevertheless, not only was their antagonism aroused, but they were growing desperate under the repeated blows struck at them, and a determined resistance was necessary to prevent total demoralization. After a long lease of almost absolute power, utter ruin threatened them. One great source of their power had been in the absolute control of township funds. During the year preceding the trial of Doyle and Kelly, the township affairs of Schuylkill County were investigated by special auditors, under the direction of the courts. Reports of these auditors had been made, and others were expected, which developed a damaging condition of management in those having the control. In the latter part of February an arrest of a township official had been made on the charge of forgery. Other arrests were anticipated, and earnest efforts were made, under authority of special laws, to enforce an honest administration in the future.

The "Mollies" were checked in their career of open outrage not only by the strong arm of the law, but also by the unexpected resistance and retaliation which during the few preceding months had been waged against them. Nevertheless, active measures of defense were determined upon in the Yost case, with strong hopes of a successful result.

The character of the several "alibis" for those charged with the murder of policeman Yost had been determined upon. The witnesses had been obtained, and were prepared to swear as the necessities of the case might demand.

In the case of McGeehan, witnesses were prepared to swear that he had been at Summit Hill the afternoon and evening of the 5th of July, the date of the murder, and that he was in his bed and asleep at the time of its occurrence. Boyle, who was a man of intemperate habits, was

to be shown to have been that evening among his friends, very drunk. Several of the witnesses selected for his case were mere children, but were well schooled in the story they were to tell.

So far as Roarity, Carroll, and Duffy were concerned, the truth as to their whereabouts that night was to be shown. If the absence of McGeehan and Boyle from the scene of the murder were fully proven, it was confidently anticipated that the character of the witnesses could not be successfully attacked, especially not to the extent of sustaining Kerrigan, who was himself a self-convicted murderer.

Kerrigan's testimony impeached, Roarity, Carroll, and Duffy were considered safe. That any person could be guilty of murder in the first degree who was absent when the act itself was committed, and was not physically concerned in inflicting the fatal blow, was not understood.

The older villains in the order had pushed the young men forward under the belief that they thereby screened themselves and in case of detection avoided punishment. A case of murder in which the "alibi" was powerless to prevent conviction was to them a profound mystery.

The theory of the defense, therefore, was that, whilst Kerrigan was guilty, he alone was guilty. It was to be proved that he had a motive, arising from vindictive feelings towards Yost, whilst McGeehan, Boyle, and Roarity were to be shown to have been utter strangers.

The defense was a plausible one, and it is not by any means impossible that, against Kerrigan unsupported, it might have been successful. If the attorneys for the defense were confident of acquitting the prisoners, as it is to be assumed they were, the nature of the defense proposed might well justify their confidence. It is not at all probable that they knew anything about "McKenna" or could anticipate any danger from that quarter.

Irish criminals, as a rule, do not know how to tell their attorneys the truth, and very frequently a case is prepared out of court which bears no resemblance whatever to that which in court the attorneys are called upon to try.

But support to Kerrigan was to come from a source which the prosecution had not hoped for and which was in no degree anticipated by the defense.

McParlan consented to come on the witness-stand.

Then for the first time he had a personal interview with Mr. Gowen. He told him the story of his life in the coal regions and of his determination to become a witness.

Mr. Gowen well knew that no better work could be done for the companies of which he was the president than the total overthrow of the "Molly Maguires." He was impressed with the man, and he determined not only to give the Commonwealth the benefit of his legal ability, but also to give the witness the moral support of his presence in court as president of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, who had employed the Pinkerton Agency.

Mr. Hughes and District Attorney Kaercher also had an interview with McParlan, and heard his story. They, too, were deeply impressed. They were not only satisfied of the wonderful ability of the man as a detective, but also thoroughly convinced of his entire honesty and of his capacity to tell his story on the witness-stand.

Both parties, confident and full of courage, awaited the coming struggle.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST TRIAL OF THE YOST MURDERERS—MORE ARRESTS.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 4, 1876, District Attorney Kaercher announced to the court, then in session at Pottsville, that the Commonwealth was ready to proceed in the trial of James Carroll, James Roarity, James Boyle, Hugh McGeehan, and Thomas Duffy, charged with the murder of policeman Benjamin F. Yost on the night of the 5th and 6th of July, 1875, at Tamaqua.

Although this was expected, and the court-room thronged in anticipation of such action, the announcement created marked sensation.

In Schuylkill County cases of the greatest magnitude have been tried; suits in which were involved millions of dollars; titles to lands of almost fabulous value; issues where human life was held in the balance; but it was felt that this case was truly, and to the full extent, an issue joined between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the prisoners at the bar. There was no turbulence displayed; there was no vindictive feeling towards the unfortunate men about to be put upon trial; but there was intense desire that if guilty no false sympathy, no manufactured testimony, should save them from judicial conviction. The feeling was deep and wide-spread that if guilty, and they should escape, the "Molly Maguire" would have won in the contest; that danger would then exist of capital being withdrawn from the coal region, of property depreciating in value, of life being rendered so insecure as to drive

away honest labor and leave the lawless and desperate in full control.

In addition to this, the unusual spectacle of five men at one time on trial for their lives increased the interest created by the magnitude of the issue.

The case was to be tried before a full bench, his Honor Judge Pershing presiding, with their Honors Green and Walker, and Associate Judges Kline and Seitzinger. The Commonwealth, as in the former trials at Mauch Chunk, felt secure in its position, whilst the defense, calculating fully on breaking down the testimony of Kerrigan, were hopeful.

When the case was called the Commonwealth was represented by District Attorney Kaercher, with whom were associated Messrs. Hughes, Albright, and Guy E. Farquhar; Messrs. J. W. Ryon, Bartholomew, and Kalbfus appeared for the defense.

The prisoners had determined to be tried together.

The bill of indictment was read. Clerk Aregood, advancing to the table and addressing the prisoners, said, "Are you guilty or not guilty?"

The plea of "not guilty" was entered.

"How will you be tried?"

Roarity responded, "We want to be tried by God and our country."

A jury was then directed to be impaneled. This occupied until the close of the court the following day (Friday).

It was evident, during this time, that not only the friends of the prisoners but also the prisoners themselves, guarded as they were by a strong force of police, and entering the room handcuffed and conscious of guilt, were exceedingly hopeful. With apparently perfect unconcern they conversed together. They received, when they could be approached, many a hearty shake of the hand and little kindly token,—a package of tobacco, a cigar,—a thing of

no value, but displaying heartfelt affection, and indicating an innate refinement in the Irish nature which not even the brutality of the "Molly Maguire" can extinguish. The conduct of the prisoners in court may have afforded no indication of their real feelings; they are born actors, and it was in the part they played to manifest unconcern.

Carroll alone seems to appreciate fully his position; there is a sad look in his eyes, as if his thoughts are in the past, as if recalling an innocent boyhood, a youth and early manhood held in respect and esteem. He feels the disgrace now upon himself and family. He cannot join in the assumed careless airs of his companions. When addressed, he will perhaps smile slightly, but sadness at once settles on his features. He holds himself in a certain degree apart from his companions.

Young McGeehan assumes, perhaps feels, defiance. Throughout the trial, that he has once lost hope does not appear.

Boyle, evidently weak and irresolute, is yet impressible. McGeehan is to him evidently the master-mind.

Duffy is rather handsome; dark-haired, with a sullen cast of feature; he betrays no emotion.

Roarity has himself well under control. During the trial he does not blanch under the most damning testimony. He does not appear exactly reckless; rather curious as to what may be said, but indifferent to its personal application.

Mrs. Carroll, with her two little children, is seated beside her husband. She understands the nature of the trial, and would go through fire and water to save the father of her children. She excites sympathy, but it is whispered around that she is an O'Donnell, a cousin of Mrs. Jack Kehoe, a cousin of Friday and Charles O'Donnell. Still, no word is breathed against her.

Mrs. McGeehan, a bride when her husband is torn from

her arms and thrown into prison, sits by his side, apparently happy in his presence, hardly realizing his position. Young and pretty, small in figure, with auburn hair and fair complexion, decked in her wedding finery, she does not seem even to hear the testimony being given by the witnesses on the stand. Her husband gazes proudly upon her, whilst she, fondly clasping his hand, or, when wearied, leaning upon his breast, has thrown aside the memory of past misery, has discarded fear for the future, and only feels that in the present she is with him.

Mrs. Roarity, careworn and sad, brings her little children into court. The youngest sits upon the father's lap and crows and laughs. It fondly pats the face of the parent on trial for his life, and, unconscious of the fearful fate awaiting him, in baby wonder gazes at the crowd by which it is surrounded and the strange scene in which it finds itself.

The jury was obtained with less difficulty than had been anticipated. Very little prejudice was manifested against the prisoners; there was a very general belief expressed by the jurors that they would be able to decide the case according to the evidence.

Whilst the jury were being impaneled, earnest preparations for the prosecution were continued. Captain Linden, on the alert, and full of resources and energy, in this case, as in the cases before and since tried, would quickly but quietly make his appearance, whisper a few hurried words to the District Attorney, and then as suddenly disappear. This excited no attention at the time, but arrests made on the following day recalled it to mind.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning the case was opened by District Attorney Kaercher. He told, with his usual clearness, the familiar story of the murder of Yost, and of the evidence that would be produced establishing the guilt of the prisoners on trial; that the testimony of

James Kerrigan, the accomplice, would be offered, and that a man who for years had lived in the county, associating with these men, and who had learned the history of their crimes, known to them as James McKenna, would also be put upon the witness-stand. His real name was James McParlan, and he was a detective employed by the Pinkerton Agency.

It was an eventful day. During the opening speech of the District Attorney, Mr. Gowen entered the court and took his seat at the counsel-table of the prosecution. Benjamin Franklin, chief of the Pinkerton Agency at Philadelphia, entered at the same time, and took his seat close by.

No outward manifestation was made, but the opening of the District Attorney excited most intense expectation. The Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company had openly shown their position, and no secret was made of the fact that they had engaged the private counsel in the present prosecution. The presence of Mr. Gowen indicated that not only was his great and acknowledged legal ability to be arrayed in behalf of the Commonwealth, but also that the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, with its vast resources and power, was openly engaged in the contest with the "Molly Maguires."

The appearance of McParlan was anxiously awaited. The court-room had been crowded with people from an early hour; and the, until then, unusual sight of ladies in court, filling the grand jury box, attracted by the deep interest felt in the case, added to the prevailing sensation. The morning hours were, however, consumed in proving the murder. Mrs. Yost, sad-looking and subdued, an object of universal sympathy, told of the lurking assassins; the fatal shots to which she was an eye-witness; her husband's cry of mortal agony, "Oh, my God! I am shot! My wife!" of his staggering to the house, and his

falling dying on his threshold. Dr. Solliday told the nature of his wounds, his certainty of death, and his dying declarations.

Whilst this testimony was being offered, a rumor, soon to be made a certainty, ran round the court-room that a number of important arrests had been made. Very quickly copies of the *Evening Chronicle* passed from hand to hand. It was true. That morning eight important arrests had been made, and at this time the jail was opening to receive the prisoners. They were: John Kehoe, High Constable of Girardville, and County Delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Michael Lawler, of Shenandoah; Frank O'Neill, of St. Clair; Patrick Butler, of Lost Creek; Patrick Dolan, Sr., of Big Mine Run; Michael O'Brien and Frank McHugh, of Mahanoy City; and Christopher Donnelly, of Mount Laffee.

There was no loud expression of feeling. Events were crowding too rapidly. Men gazed at one another in blank amazement. "Surely, surely," it was said, "the end is now at hand." "Surely the day of organized murder has passed forever." The members of the order, many of whom were in the crowd, seemed scarcely to realize what had been done. But on that day, for the first time, the appalling truth burst upon them. It was a struggle for life.

At Mauch Chunk, during the trial of Doyle, they had been fearfully excited, but it was owing to the fact that individual members of the organization were in danger. They were then arrogant, proud, defiant, glorying in their strength, and resentful that even the strong arm of the law should dare to lay hold on them. Now, however, members of the order who had come into the court-room that morning hopeful and confident were panic-stricken; no one among them felt safe; but they looked dangerous; the feeling of utter desperation was upon them.

James McParlan was called. The stillness of expectancy

throughout that large assemblage was painful. Gentlemanly, quiet, and unassuming in manner, but cool and self-possessed, neatly dressed in black, wearing spectacles, the detective made his appearance.

He told his story in slow, measured sentences, without any manifestation of feeling or attempt at display. His words were listened to by all, judges, jury, attorneys, prisoners, officers, all assembled, with breathless interest. Carroll and McGeehan and Roarity gazed upon him with wonderment. Upon their faces there was an expression which seemed to say, "Can it be possible? Is this man now calmly and coolly telling of our past confidences the same Jim McKenna who, dashing and venturesome, we believed the biggest 'Molly' of us all?"

He tells his story. He was a detective in the employ of Allan Pinkerton, of the Pinkerton Detective Agency. He came to Schuylkill County from Chicago to join, if possible, the "Molly Maguires" and discover their secrets. He told of his life step by step since he had arrived. He had joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians. He was acquainted with Carroll, McGeehan, and Roarity; had been in their confidence. He described his interviews with them. He had a slight acquaintance with Duffy. He had never met Boyle. Saturday night had arrived, and with his evidence-in-chief but partly given the court adjourned.

On the following Monday it was evident that a bitter struggle was on hand. The Commonwealth had given some fearful blows, but if there was a flaw in McParlan's testimony the attorneys for the defense were determined to discover it.

The array of counsel on both sides was brilliant. The Hon. F. W. Hughes, the senior counsel for the Commonwealth, is a lawyer by nature, education, and training. Thoroughly grounded in the principles of his profession, by long and extensive practice he seems equally at home

in any court or in the practice of any branch of his profession. Impulsive by nature, he has become by long practice remarkably calm and collected in the trial of a cause. He but rarely loses his temper, and never forgets the points at issue. Comprehending and urging with force the strong points of his case, he is fair to the other side. He is logical and analytical in mind, and a fine speaker. His greatest talent, perhaps, lies in the general management of a cause; his greatest danger, perhaps, in the too great refinement of an established principle.

Mr. Gowen, a much younger man, is also of splendid legal ability. His memory is wonderful, and the rapid strides he made to the foremost ranks of his profession whilst at the bar are almost unprecedented. On becoing president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad he abandoned the active practice of his profession, and it is only occasionally that he appears in court. It is only by reason of their importance to the general interests of the coal region, and in fulfillment of a promise made to McParlan, that he takes part in these trials. He is of fine appearance and pleasant manners. He has literary tastes, and is broad and comprehensive in his views. He cross-examines witnesses with great skill, and is an eloquent and impassioned speaker. Like Mr. Hughes, he is at home in all the courts, and very familiar with general practice. His wonderful energy, executive ability, and versatility are, it is possible, his most prominent characteristics. Although very gentlemanly in the trial of a cause, he is perhaps too quick to resent an offense where, sometimes, none may have been intended.

General Albright has been already referred to. He served with distinction in the army during the war of the rebellion, and has been Congressman-at-large from the State of Pennsylvania. He is a leading lawyer in his section of the State, and is in the enjoyment of a large practice.

He prepares a case with great skill, and understands thoroughly the facts and law in controversy. He is clear and methodical. He watches closely every point of his case and is ready with his authorities. In these cases he feels most deeply interested.

District Attorney George R. Kaercher is a young man, but already a leading member of the Schuylkill County bar. He is in the enjoyment of a large and lucrative practice in the civil courts, and will attain eminence. He takes great pride in his profession, and has a judicial cast of mind, being cool, logical, and analytical.

Guy E. Farquhar is an attorney of ability, logical, energetic, and a sound lawyer, a rising man in his profession. He is the law-partner of Mr. Hughes.

John W. Ryon, Esq., the senior counsel for the defense, is one of the able lawyers of Pennsylvania. He has had large experience in the practice of the law, has been a hard student, and has a remarkably clear, strong, logical mind. When roused, his statement of his points is as clear as possible to be made, his reasoning accurate and conclusive. His practice has been extensive and varied. He is slow and deliberate in speech, but is full of wit and humor, which bursts out on the most unexpected occasions. He is a successful practitioner, but his strongest point is in the discussion of law questions arising during a trial. His combative nature sometimes arouses antagonism in the examination of witnesses.

Mr. Bartholomew is in some respects a most remarkable man. He is brilliant, witty, and eloquent, possessing in a high degree magnetic power of voice and manner; is a good judge of human nature, and understands the motives and hidden springs by which human conduct is governed. As a consequence he selects a jury well, exercises judgment in his offer of testimony, and cross-examines witnesses with prudence. His strong position is before the jury. By

reason of his quick perception on questions of law he is in danger of too rapid conclusions.

Mr. Kalbfus has before been referred to. He has a fine command of language, is a good speaker, is of sanguine temperament. Like Mr. Bartholomew, his great power is before the jury.

Martin M. L'Velle, Esq., of Ashland, has been engaged as counsel for Jack Kehoe and others arrested the preceding Saturday. He is at the table of the prisoners' counsel, watching with interest the progress of the trial. Mr. L'Velle is a young Irishman, a Protestant, a graduate of an Irish college, and of literary tastes. Although in general practice, he is much engaged in the criminal courts.

McParlan, being again on the stand, gave the signs and passwords of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which he identified in the coal regions as the "Molly Maguires." He explained the criminal nature of the organization, the systematized commission of crime, and the efforts used to obtain the acquittal of criminals. He told of his intercourse with Kerrigan, his visits to Campbell, and the bargain made by means of which Yost was killed in consideration of the promised murder of John P. Jones.

McParlan was on the witness-stand for four days. His cross-examination was thorough and exhaustive. He told the story of his whole life, where he had been, at what he had worked, and for whom he had worked. The cross-examination recoiled on the prisoners. A large amount of testimony, rejected on his examination-in-chief, was brought out upon his cross-examination. When he told the story of his being suspected of being a detective, his demand for a trial, his escape from assassination, and his interview with Father O'Conner, those present witnessed a scene never to be forgotten. Intense silence prevailed throughout the court-room, the only sound heard being the slow, measured words of the witness. The prisoners

for the first time manifested uneasiness. Even the counsel on both sides were carried away by the tale of wonder plainly but thrillingly told. The "Mollies," of whom there were many present, listened with blanched cheeks, whilst the thronging mass of humanity in the court-room displayed an almost painful interest.

That McParlan had not been as bad as he had represented himself to be, his former associates could hardly credit.

"Did you not murder a man in Buffalo?" was asked.

"I never did," was the reply.

"Did you not say you did?"

"Yes; I also said that I passed counterfeit money, that I had obtained a pension from the United States Government to which I was not entitled, and many other things of like nature."

"Were these things true?"

"Not one word of truth in them."

"Then you lied when you said so?"

"Most certainly I did."

"What induced you to tell these lies?"

"I did it because I found they liked a man who could do things of this kind and not be found out. I did it to obtain confidence."

The above, whilst not an exact quotation, is in substance a portion of the testimony given on cross-examination.

The witness, under the long ordeal to which he was put, never once contradicted himself. He was telling the truth, and he told it without embellishment.

During the examination, a question arose as to whether the witness should be permitted to answer a question asked by the counsel for the Commonwealth. Mr. Gowen contended that he should, and in the course of his argument, becoming apparently carried away by suppressed feeling, in an impassioned burst of eloquence told the story long

confined within his own bosom, of a "Molly" candidate for Associate Judge, "Molly" Commissioners, "Molly" township officers, "Molly" constables. He told of a "Molly" who had been admitted to the jail as a guard over these prisoners, and of a "Molly" Commissioner carrying the key of the prison in his pocket. He turned to the audience, and proclaimed the court-room full of them, and then, addressing them, warned them that the day of their power had passed, and that the avenger was on their track.

The effect was electrical; up to that moment the full power of the organization had never been appreciated.

Jimmy Kerrigan came upon the witness-stand. He was no longer regarded with undivided hatred: McParlan had rendered him of less importance.

McParlan, at this time, never moved without being well guarded. At the same time, he was never regarded, after it was satisfactorily shown that he was a police-officer, with the same hatred that was visited upon Jimmy Kerrigan. That he would have been killed had an opportunity offered there can be no question; but it would have been done simply for the purpose of getting rid of his testimony.

Kerrigan had by this time made up his mind to tell the whole truth, and not to shield himself in any particular. He is very bright and quick-witted, and understands fully that if any favor is shown him it will only be in consideration of his having concealed nothing.

Day by day the trial progressed. The testimony corroborating the evidence of both McParlan and Kerrigan was overwhelming, and when the Commonwealth closed the conviction of the prisoners seemed certain.

Mr. Kalbfus opened for the defense. He was denunciatory of both McParlan and Kerrigan, and promised testimony which would show an alibi so far as McGeehan and Boyle were concerned. It was not contended on the part

of the Commonwealth that the others had been actually engaged in the perpetration of the murder.

The alibi as suggested was being given. The most notable witness was the wife of Kerrigan, who was called to contradict her husband and to fasten the whole guilt upon him.

In her testimony is given a striking illustration of the Irish detestation of an "informer." She had been a faithful wife to Jimmy long after he had been committed to prison at Mauch Chunk; but now her contempt for him was open and avowed.

"When did you stop visiting your husband?" asked Mr. Gowen.

"Ever since he committed the crime," was the answer.

"Crime! What crime?"

Mrs. Kerrigan saw her position in a moment: she hesitated, became embarrassed, and then answered, "Ever since he tried to put his own guilt on innocent men."

But the crime that Mrs. Kerrigan meant was that of being an informer. He had been drunken and quarrelsome, and she had loved him. He was now an informer, and he had committed a "crime;" he was an outcast, and she turned against him.*

When James McKenna paid attention to Miss Mary Ann Hegins, he was a reputed passer of counterfeit money, without visible means of support, of more than questionable record, and known as a desperate character. She was rather an object of envy among her companions. When James McKenna proved to be James McParlan, an honest, respectable man, a detective by profession, the girls laûghed and jeered at Mary Ann for having an "informer" for a beau.

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* Mrs. Kerrigan has since relented. She has been with her children to see her husband, and a reconciliation has taken place.

On the 18th of May the testimony on the part of the defense was nearly closed, and a speedy termination of the trial was hoped for. Just after court opened, it was announced that one of the jurors—Mr. Levi Stein, of Pine Grove—was ill, and not in condition to remain in court. In hope of his speedy recovery, the jury was kept together until the 23d of the month, when Mr. Stein died. This sad event of course rendered it necessary to discharge the jury, and the case went over.

Notwithstanding the fact that no verdict had been obtained, what is known as "the first Yost trial" will long be remembered in Schuylkill County as more important in its general effects than any case ever before tried there. It is true that no verdict had been rendered, but the full nature of "Molly" crimes was now understood, the members of the nefarious organization were known, and their conviction had become possible.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MOLLY PLOTS—TRIAL OF ALEC CAMPBELL—TRIAL OF THOMAS MUNLEY—SECOND TRIAL OF THE YOST MURDERERS.

THE intense anxiety prevailing among the better class of citizens throughout the coal regions reached its culminating point during the trial of the Yost murderers at Pottsville. Great interest thereafter down to the present time has been manifested, as the history of the "Molly Maguire" has more fully developed; but the fear which had been entertained that crime would remain undetected and criminals escape punishment has given way to a feeling that the power of the law would be maintained there as in

other sections of the country, and that the destruction of an organized band of murderers was assured.

The fact that Carroll, Roarity, and Duffy, although not present at the actual assassination of Yost, might still be guilty of "murder in the first degree," was then first generally understood, and satisfaction was openly expressed that the deeper and more hardened villain who laid the hellish plan could receive the same punishment as the oftentimes less guilty instrument executing it.

To the "Mollies" themselves this knowledge was a matter of deep consternation, mingled with surprise and incredulity, and the approaching trial of Alexander Campbell, at Mauch Chunk, was looked forward to with great anxiety. It was not contended in his case that he had been actually present at the murder of John P. Jones. Nevertheless, the arrest of Jack Kehoe and others at an early stage of the Yost trial, and still other arrests rapidly following, created intense alarm among them. Crime had been discussed, sympathized with, and perpetrated within their own knowledge, and to aid and abet the escape of a criminal had been by them regarded as a most virtuous action. Many were conscious of the extent to which they were themselves implicated, and lived in continual dread of arrest. Numbers, under the influence of fear, left the anthracite coal regions, it is hoped forever. A general feeling of uneasiness pervaded the whole organization.*

It was no longer a question as to whether the organization should retain power and position; the arrogant, confident feeling had passed away, and the appalling question remained, "Who among us is safe?" The leaders of the

* Even under these circumstances the Irishman could not resist a jcke. "And whin shall I see you again?" asked one son of the Emerald Isle of another, on a street corner in Pottsville, one evening about this time. "On Monday next, me mon, if I'm not thin in jail," was the answer.

order throughout Schuylkill and Carbon Counties were being arrested or were fugitives from justice.

That in this condition of affairs, driven as they were to the wall, desperate means of relief should suggest themselves is but natural. The women in sympathy with the organization were the last to realize that its power was on the wane, and by their voices and influence they counseled active, bitter resistance. In Carbon County General Albright* was regarded with special dread, whilst in Schuylkill the destruction of Messrs. Gowen, Hughes, and District Attorney Kaercher was discussed. They were regarded as their great enemies, and they falsely assumed that, these gentlemen disposed of, they could have more assurance of safety. That they had no conception of the fearful retribution which would have followed the destruction of any one engaged in the enforcement of the law is not surprising. They reason from their own feelings, prejudices, and desires, and they had not then, they never had, and with all their experience up to this time they have not now, a conception of the intense detestation with which their crimes are regarded. The reason of this is obvious: they have not themselves any adequate conception of the fearful, terrible nature of their brutality.

During the Yost trial and afterwards several plans were

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* In Carbon County a plan for the rescue of Doyle and Kelly and the capture of Kerrigan had been matured. Two members of the order were to be brought to Mauch Chunk from Pittsburg. They were to watch General Albright, to form his acquaintance on pretense of business, and to arrange an evening interview with him in his office. He was to be detained there by force until after midnight, when it was supposed that under the influence of threats he could be induced to procure them admission into the prison. The general and the jailer were then to be murdered and the prisoners released. The arrest of the Yost murderers and Alec Campbell, charged also with the murder of Jones, disarranged the plan. As the details of the matter were understood at the time, the conspirators had no chance whatever of success.

discussed among them, in one of which the destruction of all who might happen to be in the court-house was involved. Difficulties as to its practical execution, however, prevented any serious efforts in that direction. Besides, in its execution, the lives of some of their own number would have been necessarily forfeited.

The chief object of their fear was, however, Mr. Gowen, the president of the Reading Railroad Company. It is not to be supposed that he was regarded with any personal dislike. There is among no other class of people a more thorough recognition of the position of the opposite counsel, and of the distinction between his official position as an attorney and his acts as a private individual. No people better understand the difference between McParlan, the police-officer and detective, and Kerrigan, the "informer." They recognized in Mr. Gowen the attorney against them, rather than the president of the Reading Coal and Iron Company.

But it was not a question of personal like or dislike: the attorneys were against them, and inflicting fearful blows, and Mr. Gowen wielded the full power of a great corporation. For their own personal safety they desired him out of the way, and that to do so they would have to destroy life was, in their view, immaterial.

The apparent indifference of nearly all the prisoners excited surprise, and a belief has been entertained that news of an intended rescue had been given them; and this seems probable. One plan discussed among the "Mollies," the full details of which are known, embraced not only the breaking in of the jail, but also the destruction of the town of Pottsville, and, if necessary, the murder of many of its inhabitants. In the fact that it is known that such schemes are contemplated may exist the safeguard against their perpetration. It must be borne in mind, however, that whilst in past experience almost numberless

crimes have been committed, far more have been the subject of mere idle talk.

On the 20th of June, 1876, the trial of Alexander Campbell for the murder of John P. Jones was commenced at Mauch Chunk.

The counsel appearing for the Commonwealth were District Attorney Siewers, Messrs. Hughes, Albright, and Craig; and for the defense, Messrs. E. T. Fox, Esq., of Easton, Daniel Kalbfus and Edward Mulhearn, Esqs.

This case was regarded as of the greatest importance both by the Commonwealth and by the defense. Campbell was one of the most influential men in the order, and regarded as specially dangerous. He had planned, had aided and assisted, but had not executed the murder. He was known to have been for years the instigator of the horrors by means of which Carbon County had been held in terror, and his conviction was felt to be justly due. It was also felt that his conviction would be most salutary in convincing the desperadoes of the region that the accessory before the fact, in the case of murder, could be held as "guilty in the first degree."

The "Mollies" had attempted to rally their forces since the close of the first Yost trial, and a determined effort was intended to be made to break down McParlan's testimony if possible. As usual, they had no difficulty in obtaining witnesses. The murder of Jones was proven, as in former cases, to have been committed by Doyle and Kelly.

The whole history of the transaction, including the bargain in consideration of which John P. Jones was assassinated in exchange for the murder of policeman Yost, was given in evidence by McParlan and Kerrigan. A most gallant contest was made by E. T. Fox, Esq., who has justly the reputation of a leading lawyer in the Lehigh Valley, supported by Mr. Kalbfus.

Witness after witness was called, among whom was John J. Slattery, in contradiction of the detective and the "informer;" but unfortunately for the prisoner, and unfortunately for the witnesses themselves, they broke down, as was to be expected, under able and well-directed cross-examination. Not only was James McParlan, the police-officer and honest man, sustained, but also James Kerrigan, the self-convicted murderer. And for the same reason: they both told the truth. When the Commonwealth closed their testimony, the conviction of the prisoners was probable. When the testimony for the defense was all in, it was absolutely certain.

During the trial the court-room was, as usual in these cases, crowded. One of the most notable scenes occurred in argument on the admission of Kerrigan as a witness. Mr. Fox objected to his testimony on the ground that he was an accomplice, and that its admission was discretionary with the court. In arguing that, in this case, the court should exercise its discretion against such admission, he took occasion to denounce Jimmy in most unmeasured terms, and spoke of the wrong that would be done to society in convicting any one upon such evidence. Mr. Hughes, in the first instance, discussed the legal proposition, and then, in a burst of thrilling eloquence, portrayed the wrongs done to society by Campbell, who was a leader among leaders and a chief among chieftains, and by his criminal associates; he spoke of the "Molly" reigning with brutal and unhallowed power in the past, and of the doom that was upon him in the present; how, by his foul crimes, society had been disorganized, homes rendered desolate, and the widow and orphan thrown unprotected on the world.

The testimony of Kerrigan was admitted by Judge Dreher upon the legal proposition and in the exercise of his discretion.

On the 1st of July the jury returned a verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree" against Alexander Campbell, the third conviction of this kind in the coal regions, and all of them in Carbon County.

Shortly after this trial a number of witnesses for the defense were arrested and bound over to answer the charge of perjury.

In the mean time, on the 27th of June, at Pottsville, the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Thomas Munley and Charles McAllister was announced for trial before his Honor Judge Green.

Charles McAllister, one of the defendants, demanded a separate trial, and District Attorney Kaercher elected to first try Thomas Munley.

The case opened with District Attorney Kaercher, F. B. Gowen, and Guy E. Farquhar, Esqs., for the Commonwealth, and Messrs. Ryon, Bartholomew, L'Velle, and S. A. Garrett, Esqs., for the defense. Upon the conclusion of the Campbell trial at Mauch Chunk, Messrs. Hughes and Albright also appeared for the Commonwealth. The prisoner was charged in the indictment with the murder of Thomas Sanger at Raven's Run on the preceding 1st of September.

It will be remembered that Thomas Sanger was, together with William Uren, murdered by Friday O'Donnell and Thomas Munley, whilst Charles O'Donnell, McAllister, and Doyle were at the same time firing at the crowd and preventing interference. There were nearly one hundred men assembled at Raven's Run, and yet, strange to say, of all the workmen there assembled, not one could be found who could identify Thomas Munley as having been there that morning, though there were none who would swear that he was not present and committed the act. They had seen five men there, but their faces were hidden under their hats, and their coats drawn up; they were bewildered; the

action of the tragedy had been too rapid. Robert Heaton, one of the proprietors of the colliery, who had rushed from his porch and exchanged shots with the fugitives, was alone able to swear positively to the identity of the prisoner.

The defense was an "alibi."

McParlan, it is true, swore positively to the confessions of Munley, made at Muff Lawler's tavern at Shenandoah, on the morning of the murder, and directly after its perpetration, but ground for his contradiction was laid by the defendant's attorneys in his cross-examination. Hope was entertained that by means of the number of witnesses to be produced, showing Munley's presence elsewhere at the time of the murder at Raven's Run, a question might be made as to whether Mr. Heaton was not mistaken, and such a reasonable doubt established as would acquit the prisoner. But the ill success attending the attack upon McParlan at Mauch Chunk was discouraging; and whilst the attempt to contradict him was not wholly abandoned, many of the points made at Mauch Chunk were not pressed.

The Commonwealth, moreover, unexpectedly obtained two witnesses that had not been calculated upon.

A Mrs. Williams, who lived at Raven's Run at the time of the murder of Sanger and Uren, impelled by curiosity, visited the court-room during the progress of the trial. From the place where she was sitting in the room she had a side view of the prisoner's face; she recognized it at once. She was in her house with her son, a mere lad, on the morning of the murder. Hearing the noise outside, the boy ran to the door, and the mother, anxious for his safety, followed him to draw him back. The door was opened, and just at that moment a man passed with a pistol in his hand, and his side face towards her. The view she had was but for an instant, but an impression was made never to be forgotten. That face was printed on her brain. It was the face of Thomas Munley, the prisoner at

the bar, she told a friend sitting by her side. Quickly was Captain Linden in possession of the fact. Quickly was it known at the counsel-table of the prosecution; and before Mrs. Williams fairly comprehended her position she was on the witness-stand and had told her story.

The Commonwealth had closed their case, the defense had opened and were offering their testimony, when Captain Linden unexpectedly discovered another witness able to identify Munley. A young girl named Belinda Bickelman, a sister of Mrs. Weevil, into whose house, it will be remembered, Sanger ran after being shot, was present at the time, but, keeping herself in the background, had escaped attention. She had no previous acquaintance with Munley, but had recognized him as soon as she saw him in court as the stranger she had seen with a pistol on the morning of the assassination. She had applied to Captain Linden for permission to return home, when in conversation with her he learned that she too could identify the prisoner. Application was at once made to the court, and, under the circumstances, Judge Green permitted the testimony to be given.*

The father and brother of the prisoner were seated by his side. It being understood that they were to be examined as witnesses, the one was requested to withdraw during the examination of the other.

On the main fact, that Thomas Munley was in his own house at the time of the murder, they agreed, but in other respects their contradictions were flagrant. A sister of the prisoner testified to the fact that he was at home that morning. A Mrs. Hyland also testified to meeting him in his own house at a time which, if she told the truth, would have rendered his commission of the crime charged im-

* Prior to this, the testimony of either of these witnesses, it is probable, would have been difficult to obtain. Even at this time Mrs. Williams was the object of threats and alarmed for her safety.

possible. The case was ably argued to the jury by Messrs. Kaercher and Gowen for the Commonwealth, and Bartholomew and Ryon for the defense.

The argument of Mr. Gowen was an arraignment of the "Molly Maguire" organization. It has been published and extensively circulated.

The case was fairly and impartially presented to the jury by his Honor Judge Green.

On the 12th of July the jury rendered a verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree" against Thomas Munley, the first verdict of that kind in Schuylkill County against a "Molly Maguire," and the fourth in the anthracite coal region.

It was discovered through the examination of McParlan in this case that Charles McAllister, under arrest and indicted for the murder of Sanger and Uren, was innocent of active participation in that offense. It was James McAllister, the brother of the prisoner, who was present at Raven's Run with Munley, the O'Donnells, and Doyle. James McAllister is a fugitive from justice.

The prosecution of Charles McAllister for the murder of Sanger and Uren has not been pushed, but he has since been tried and convicted for the attempted assassination of James Riles, of Shenandoah.

It is said to have been arranged by the "Mollies" that Mr. Gowen should be shot in the court-room during the progress of this trial. The perpetrator of the act was to be protected, and his escape effected, by a number of armed men who accompanied him. At the time appointed, however, a member of the organization was sitting in such a position that his life would have been endangered by any shot fired at Mr. Gowen. To have executed this plan would have been such utter madness that it is more than probable that it would not under any circumstances have been attempted.

On the 6th and 7th of July, and before the conclusion of the Munley case, a jury was impaneled in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Carroll, Roarity, McGeehan, and Boyle. Thomas Duffy demanded a separate trial. The case was tried before his Honor Judge Pershing.

The counsel for the Commonwealth and for the defense were the same as had been employed in the Munley case.

An application for a change of venue was made and refused.

The reason that the jury was impaneled at this time was that no jury had been summoned for the following week, and, owing to pressure of business, the District Attorney was anxious to dispose of this case during the term.

The trial began on the 13th of July. The evidence, with but immaterial exceptions, was the same as that adduced in the first Yost trial. Mrs. Kerrigan, however, did not appear upon the witness-stand. It is stated that even before the conclusion of the first trial she had repented, and had determined to come upon the stand and tell the truth. Certain witnesses also who had consented to perjure themselves in order to establish an "alibi" for McGeehan, influenced either by fear or by a higher motive, refused to fulfill their promise. The "alibi" of Boyle was made out as in former trials.

But, independently of the testimony of McParlan and Kerrigan, in material points corroborated by other witnesses, the evidence of Robert Breslin was utterly at variance with the "alibi" set up for McGeehan and Boyle. It will be remembered that Breslin met these two men a little after four o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July, and that they told him they were returning from a ball at Mauch Chunk. It was shown that this was on the road to Tamaqua, and testimony was given to prove that there had been no ball or party the preceding night at Mauch Chunk.

The effort to impeach the testimony of McParlan was

not yet abandoned. His cross-examination was thorough, but notwithstanding he had now been examined at great length in the three trials preceding, and in a number of "habeas corpus" hearings, no material contradiction in any portion of the testimony he had given could be discovered. The conclusion was being unwillingly arrived at that he was impregnable.

The speeches of the counsel in this as in preceding cases were earnest and able. The speeches of Messrs. Hughes and Albright have been published in pamphlet form, and have had a wide circulation.

On Saturday evening, July 22, the jury retired, after listening to the able, well-prepared, and impartial charge of his Honor Judge Pershing.

At about eleven o'clock that night the jury brought in a verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree" against all the defendants.

The scene was a startling one. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and the fact that the court-house is situated some distance from the centre of the town, a few moments after the ringing of the bell the room was thronged to its utmost capacity. Judge Pershing took his seat upon the bench. The prisoners were brought in handcuffed. Their wives and relatives took seats beside them. The jury then entered the box. The verdict was rendered. The counsel for the defendants asked that the jury might be polled, and then each juror, separately as to each prisoner, declared the verdict, "Guilty of murder in the first degree."

The ceremony occupied nearly half an hour. There were but few there assembled who did not feel the solemnity of the scene, and yet the prisoners sat, with their wives beside them,—evidently by preconcerted arrangement,—all seemingly careless and unmoved. The mental strain upon them all during that hour must have been terrible.

The wail of mortal agony wrung from those poor women, when the eyes of the curious crowd were removed, must have been heart-rending.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CONSPIRACY CASES—TRIAL OF DUFFY.

When the jury brought in a verdict of "murder in the first degree" against Carroll, Roarity, McGeehan, and Boyle, the battle against the "Molly Maguires" as an organization had been fought and the victory had been won. Although a united effort for the defense was made in the conspiracy cases against John Kehoe and others, it was entered into with little reasonable hope of success.

Since that time the fight has been spasmodic,—earnest sometimes, in the hope of clearing the individual charged with crime, but with no expectation of saving the association from its just doom.

That McParlan was telling the truth was now generally admitted by all classes of the community. Very few even of known "Mollies" longer denied it. He was recognized not only as a truthful witness, but as a fair, cautious, unprejudiced one; appreciating, if not to an unusual at least to the full extent, the sanctity of an oath.

This conclusion had been produced, in a very great degree, by the internal evidence of the truth of his statements. That such a state of the public mind was a high compliment to McParlan is unquestionable; that he should himself be gratified at strong corroborative evidence, soon offered, is but natural.

The prisoners convicted of the murder of policeman Yost entered a motion for a new trial, which was argued

and refused. They were sentenced by the court to undergo the extreme penalty of the law.

Death-warrants were issued against them, and also against Thomas Munley, convicted and sentenced for the murder of Thomas Sanger.

Writs of error have been issued in behalf of each prisoner, which have for the time being acted as a *supersedeas*. The cases have not as yet been heard by the Supreme Court.

That perjury is a crime, punishable by law, and that danger of the enforcement of the law existed, the arrests of witnesses in Carbon County, testifying in the case of Alexander Campbell, and in the trials of Munley and the murderers of Yost, in Schuylkill County, now rendered evident. The "Mollies" found themselves beaten at all points.

At the time of the verdict against Carroll and others, arrests had been made of men charged with the murder of F. W. Langdon, committed over fourteen years ago. Yellow Jack Donahue was in prison. Dennis F. Canning, the County Delegate of Northumberland, had been arrested. John Gibbons, John Morris, John J. Slattery, Charles Mulhearn, John Stanton, Michael Doolan, Edward Monaghan, and others, in addition to those before noted, were awaiting trial.

It was known as to those implicated in "Molly" crimes and not arrested, that the officers of justice were on their track, and that death alone would save them. Sooner or later they would be called upon to answer at the bar of outraged justice for their crimes.

On the 8th of August, 1876, at Pottsville, before his Honor Judge Walker, District Attorney Kaercher called for trial the case of the Commonwealth against John Kehoe, Michael O'Brien, Christopher Donnelly, John Donahue *alias* Yellow Jack, James Roarity, Dennis F. Canning,

Frank McHugh, John Gibbons, John Morris, Thomas Hurley, and Michael Doyle, charged with assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas. All of the accused were produced in custody except Hurley and Doyle.

District Attorney Kaercher, F. W. Hughes, F. B. Gowen, Charles Albright, and Guy E. Farquhar, Esqs., appeared for the Commonwealth, and Hon. James Ryon and Martin M. L'Velle and S. A. Garrett, Esqs., for the defendants.

Mr. Farquhar opened the case, giving a clear and lucid statement of the facts to be proven. The case was a very interesting one. McParlan was on the stand, and examined at great length. His history of the organization and its character, his own experience and adventures, were given perhaps at greater length and with more detail than in any of the preceding trials, with the exception perhaps of the first trial of the Yost murderers.

The full details of the convention held in Mahanoy City on the 1st of July of the preceding year were given, and the division meeting held in Shenandoah, called for the purpose of selecting the party to execute the "job," was also described.

Testimony as to the details in the preparation of the assault was given.

Young Frank McHugh, one of the prisoners, was called to the stand, and testified to the meeting in Mahanoy City, completely corroborating McParlan. McHugh was the first of the prisoners, after Kerrigan, to make public confession. A result had now been attained which for some time had been expected. As the fortunes of the "Molly" organization became desperate, a very general desire to turn State's evidence manifested itself among the prisoners. A serious question for the Commonwealth now was as to how far it could avail itself of that evidence under any implied obligation which the use of such testimony would seem

to create. McHugh was a mere boy, and the least guilty of any of those charged with the crime. He had been under the influence of Mike O'Brien, but, it was believed, was not yet wholly corrupted.

In this case the printed constitution and by-laws of the Ancient Order of Hibernians were given in evidence. There is nothing in this constitution or by-laws to indicate any criminality in the organization. It is manifest from the evidence given in the several trials that the avowed principles of the order are used as a cloak to cover its criminality: they

> "Stole the livery of the court of heaven
> To serve the devil in."

The argument was made to the jury on the part of the Commonwealth by F. B. Gowen and George R. Kaercher, Esqs., and on the part of the defense by M. M. L'Velle and Hon. James Ryon.

On Saturday, the 12th of August, the case was submitted to the jury, under the charge of his Honor Judge Walker.* The verdict rendered was "guilty" as to all the defendants in custody, with a recommendation to the court of mercy in the case of Frank McHugh.

On the following Monday, his Honor Judge Green presiding, District Attorney Kaercher called the case of the Commonwealth against John Kehoe, Christopher Donnelly, Dennis F. Canning, Michael O'Brien, Frank McHugh, John Donahue, and James Roarity, charged with conspiracy to murder William and Jesse Major.

The same counsel appeared as in the case tried the week immediately preceding.

* A full report of the testimony, arguments of counsel, and charge of court has been published under the supervision of R. A. West, Esq., by whom the same was stenographically reported, and to whom the writer takes this occasion to make acknowledgments for repeated courtesies. The report has been extensively circulated, and forms an interesting volume.

A special plea was entered in behalf of the prisoners, to which issue was joined, that they had been already convicted of the offense charged, by the verdict of "guilty" rendered by the jury in the case for assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas; that the conspiracy entered into at Mahanoy City on the 1st of June, 1875, to kill the Majors was one and the same transaction as the conspiracy to kill Thomas, and inseparable from it; that as the latter had merged in the actual assault and battery, no right of action for conspiracy existed.

The question as to whether the prisoners had already been tried for the offense charged was submitted as a question of fact to the jury, under the charge of Judge Green, who instructed them that the mere fact that these prisoners came together, and at the same meeting entered into a conspiracy not only to kill one person, but to kill more, did not necessarily constitute a single conspiracy.

The jury rendered a verdict in favor of the Commonwealth. The prisoners entered the plea of "not guilty," and a jury was called and sworn to try the question of their guilt or innocence.

The testimony was in many particulars the same as given in the preceding trial. The story of the meeting on Sunday at Tuscarora was told by Kerrigan; the shooting at the mark; the selection of the party to do the "job;" the offer of Slattery to pay five dollars to any man to take his place; the interest manifested by Yellow Jack Donahue, Michael Doolan, and Charles Mulhearn; the details of which have been given in a previous chapter.

On the 16th of August the case was submitted to the jury, who rendered a verdict of "guilty" against all the defendants.

The same day District Attorney Kaercher called the case of the Commonwealth against James Roarity, Christopher Donnelly, John Donahue, Michael O'Brien, Patrick

Dolan, Sr., and Patrick Butler, charged with aiding and assisting to reward Thomas Hurley for the murder of Gomer James, the counsel on both sides being the same as in the two preceding cases.

The interest excited by this case can readily be imagined. The full story, the particulars of which are already known to the reader, of the convention held on the 25th of August, 1875, at the house of James Carroll, in Tamaqua, was given in evidence. By reason of the strange developments before made as to the open character and free discussion of many of the crimes perpetrated under sanction of this order, it would be imagined that nothing could occasion surprise. But the history of this day is almost beyond belief. That in broad daylight men from all sections of Schuylkill County should openly attend a meeting held at a tavern on the main street of a populous town, and without one dissenting voice, after open discussion among themselves, agree to reward the perpetrator of a brutal, cowardly, aimless murder, is in itself almost incredible. But when, beyond this, it conclusively appeared that another person, jealous of the honor and reward claimed, should falsely assert himself to be the perpetrator of this dark crime, and that a committee should be appointed to decide the question and report, it was felt that a depth of brutality and debasement had been reached by a large body of men possessing influence, and met in daily association, which even the long record of horrid crimes and ghastly murders could scarcely explain.

But the evidence of McParlan, given in plain, simple words, without any attempt at embellishment, has since been corroborated to such an extent that the possibility of a doubt of its truth no longer exists. On this trial James Kerrigan told his knowledge and his part in that day's proceedings, and now the evidence of another actor in that scene was also added.

Patrick Butler, body-master of Lost Creek, who, it will be remembered, was appointed with McKenna to examine into the respective claims of Hurley and McClain to the reward for the murder of Gomer James, was called to the stand on the part of the defense. Unexpectedly to most persons present, he told the truth; he corroborated McParlan to the fullest extent, and, more than this, he told of other terrible deeds perpetrated or in contemplation.

There was no longer in the mind of even the most prejudiced any doubt of the entire truth of McParlan's statements. The day of sneers and innuendoes as to a paid "spy" and "informer," who, for selfish purposes, magnified the knowledge he had obtained, had passed forever.

On the 20th of August the jury rendered a verdict against all the prisoners of "guilty" in manner and form as they stood indicted.

The time fixed for the trial of Thomas Duffy for the murder of policeman Yost was approaching. Duffy had made no confession of his participation in the crime to McParlan. The defense persuaded itself that there could be no testimony of the guilt of the prisoner apart from the evidence of Kerrigan. That they would be able to contradict Kerrigan in such material points as to render him unworthy of belief they felt sanguine.

The case was prepared with great care. Patrick Duffy, the brother of the prisoner, had since his arrest devoted all his energies to accomplish his acquittal. He had been at work night and day. During the first Yost trial, by his wonderful energy he assumed the main part of the vast labor necessarily required by the attorneys in its preparation and during the trial. On his brother's account he had been just as active during the trial of Carroll and others. Now was coming the struggle, in which his whole interest was centred, and the hope expressed by the attorneys redoubled his efforts.

The case was called before his Honor Judge Walker, at Pottsville, on the 6th of September, 1876.

District Attorney Kaercher, and Messrs. Hughes, Albright, and Guy E. Farquhar, appeared for the Commonwealth, and Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew for the defense.

The contest made on the part of the defense in this trial was earnest and even bitter. The energy and ability of the learned counsel for the defense were fully engaged in the struggle. Nothing was overlooked,—the case was fought inch by inch. But, notwithstanding their efforts, the same evidence, with immaterial exceptions, was presented to the jury as in the former trials of the prisoners charged with the Yost murder. The whole story was told. Kerrigan as a witness sustained himself well. It was claimed by the defense that he was contradicted on material points, and on the part of the Commonwealth that his testimony was entirely reliable. With the corroborative testimony offered he was sustained by the jury.

The testimony produced in all the cases is strongly confirmatory of Kerrigan's truthfulness. His own statements bear internal evidence of their general correctness. He has been corroborated to a wonderful extent in very many material points. Unprincipled and wicked as he most certainly has been, there can be little doubt that he has made up his mind to conceal nothing, as against either himself or any one else. He appreciates that in that one line of conduct is his one hope for safety. But he is very bright, quick in motion and quick in intellect,—a very rapid talker, anticipating the question before it is fully asked. His answer is on the instant, and the utmost skill of the stenographer is taxed in reporting him, entire accuracy being next to impossible. That he should exercise caution and care to the extent observed by McParlan is not to be expected. The two men are actuated by entirely

different principles. McParlan appreciates the sanctity of an oath. Kerrigan's past life would not indicate respect for anything; but he tells the truth because he conceives it to be his interest to do so. The case was concluded on the 20th of September, 1876.

The arguments of counsel were carefully prepared, and, as in the preceding cases, exceedingly able.

In the "Molly" trials preceding the present, Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew had made able and probably their best efforts in the case of Thomas Munley, charged with the murder of Thomas Sanger. In that case, too, in the concluding argument, Mr. Gowen's speech had been impassioned, eloquent, and of great literary merit. It was an arraignment of the "Molly" organization, and, delivered by the president of the Reading Railroad Company, commanding its power and resources, its effect on the public mind, which under any circumstances would have been great, was increased.

General Albright's argument in the case of Carroll and others, charged with the murder of Yost, was an elaborate and telling speech, whilst Mr. Hughes, generally ingenious and convincing, had prior to this time made his best effort in argument at the trial of Alexander Campbell at Mauch Chunk.

In this case the speech of Mr. Hughes, who opened in the concluding arguments before the jury, was both in conception and delivery a masterpiece. He endeavored to show the jury that the testimony, independent of Kerrigan, would justify a verdict against the prisoner; that Kerrigan's testimony alone would demand it, that Kerrigan's testimony as corroborated would compel it. As evidence was reviewed and connected which, scattered through the case, had excited but little attention, the conviction was forced that such corroboration of Kerrigan had been given as to place his evidence beyond doubt.

Mr. Hughes, in treating the testimony of Kerrigan, contended that it bore internal evidence of truth, and in illustration related an anecdote in his own experience, which, as it illustrates what has been heretofore contended for, it may not be inappropriate to relate. "Many years ago," said he, "the late John Bannan, Esq., and myself were engaged in the defense of Daniel Edwards, charged with the murder of James Richards. We both knew Edwards well, and were both satisfied of his innocence of the crime charged. A witness was, however, produced who testified that he had been present at the time of the difficulty, that Edwards had incited a quarrel, and with premeditation inflicted the fatal blow. Both Mr. Bannan and myself knew the witness was testifying falsely, that he was a bitter enemy of Daniel Edwards, and that he was extremely shrewd; but we knew further that no perjured witness could sustain himself against a patient, well-directed, careful cross-examination. But this witness seemed invulnerable. His story was a short one, containing but few facts, and to those he clung with great tenacity. He was two days on the witness-stand, and no impression on his testimony had been made, when, after he had fully committed himself, the question was asked, 'You stated, did you not, that you were standing very near by when this occurrence took place?' 'Yes.' 'You also stated that you were a friend of Edwards and of Richards?' 'Yes.' 'Then, if you were in such position and a friend of both Edwards and Richards, why is it that you did not interfere in order to prevent the murder of one friend and the sin and punishment of the other?' For the first time the witness faltered. The weak point had been found at last. From that moment he broke down. Within twenty minutes of that time he was off the witness-stand, but within that time court, jury, and all present were convinced that he had been lying. Edwards was triumphantly acquitted."

In this case Mr. Bartholomew perhaps made his best effort. He was deeply interested and anxious for an acquittal. He argued that Kerrigan had contradicted himself on material points and was not worthy of credit. All his ingenuity, his magnetism of voice and manner, were fully enlisted.

Mr. Ryon was roused to his utmost depths and was intensely earnest. He appeared convinced of the innocence of his client and that Kerrigan was with fiendish malice endeavoring to swear away his life. Mr. Ryon has powers of invective, and those powers were exercised that day on Kerrigan.

District Attorney Kaercher had the concluding argument. Cool, calm, and logical, if the jury had for a moment been shaken by the powerful appeals made to them, their doubts were brushed away by a clear and succinct answer to all questions raised and fresh review of the facts in evidence bearing upon the guilt of the prisoner.

The prisoner's counsel had prepared, with much skill, a number of points of law upon which they asked the court to instruct the jury. Great ingenuity had been displayed in this matter. As a rule, the correct principle of law was stated, but in such a manner that the facts of the case would hardly warrant the application intended. His Honor Judge Walker answered most of the points in the affirmative, and his charge, carefully prepared and well considered, was regarded as favorable to the prisoner. The case had extended into the night, when the charge of the court was given to the jury.

The next morning the jury brought in their verdict, and the prisoner was found "guilty of murder in the first degree."

The friends of Duffy were determined, if possible, to secure his safety. An important witness for the Commonwealth, who was to have been called in rebuttal, disap-

peared just before he was needed. It was shown that when last seen he was in company with Duffy, the brother of the prisoner, and with policeman McCarron. His whereabouts could not be discovered. The circumstance excited much comment. A conspiracy for the rescue of Duffy is said to have been planned the night the charge of the court was delivered. A way had been found by which entrance could be made into the cellar of the court-house. It was arranged that two men should go into the cellar, and to the point where the gas-meter was fixed. At a given signal the gas was to be turned off. The prisoner, who understood the plot, was to spring forward at the moment the gas was extinguished, whilst friends stationed near by were to occupy his place. In the confusion and darkness his escape was to be effected. The charge of the court was, however, deemed so favorable to the prisoner that this project was abandoned, and the chance of his acquittal by the jury was risked. It is very doubtful whether the plan would have succeeded. Captain Linden had heard of attempts of that kind during night-sessions of courts, and as a consequence he was himself, with other officers of the law, so stationed that in the event of the slightest disturbance the prisoner would at once have been seized and removed.

If the plan had been pursued, the scene that might have occurred cannot be thought of without a shudder. That large crowd left in total darkness—uncertain of what was intended, panic-stricken—in the room at midnight; the officers of the law anxious to retain the prisoner; the friends desperate, determined to effect his escape; the screams of the women, the rush for the doors, the use of the dirk, and the report of the pistol; friend and foe not recognizing each other in the madness of fright; men and women trampled under foot, mangled, and the life crushed out! Imagination alone can paint the horrors of such a scene.

CHAPTER XXX.

TRIALS OF "MOLLIES"—THE SHEET-IRON GANG—JACKSON'S PATCH—WHOLESALE CONFESSIONS—SENTENCES.

IMMEDIATELY after the Duffy trial, and during the September term, 1876, "Molly Maguire" cases were disposed of with great rapidity in Schuylkill County. The power of the organization was entirely broken. The prisoners were forced to depend on private resources, and in a number of instances counsel for the defense were appointed by the court. It is but justice to such counsel to state that they were, and at the time of this writing are, as earnest and conscientious in the discharge of their duties as if they were the recipients of large fees.

Mason Weidman, J. M. Healey, Charles N. Brumm, Samuel A. Garrett, Hon. Myer Strouse, and W. J. Whitehouse, Esqs., of the Schuylkill bar, have been called upon in important cases by the court, and freely and willingly accorded their services.

James Duffy, Barney N. Boyle, Kate Boyle, and Mrs. Bridget Hyland were respectively convicted of perjury,—the offense of the first three having been committed in the Yost trial, and that of the last in the Munley case.

For all these prisoners sympathy is felt. James Duffy is an old man, whilst the two Boyles are in early youth. Mrs. Hyland is a married woman, the mother of a number of young children, who need care and attention. That the offense of perjury should be severely dealt with, that the purity of the witness-stand should at all hazards and under all circumstances be upheld, that in the maintenance

of its purity all the ends of justice are involved, that the crime of perjury justly merits the full extent of the penalty allowed by law, cannot be questioned; yet to these unfortunate victims of "Molly" crime a pity is given that cannot be accorded to the "Molly Maguire" himself. There dare not, under the circumstances, be thought of mercy, and yet, as contrasted with those who induced them to commit the crime and have escaped punishment, they are comparatively innocent. The "Molly" has corrupted the moral sentiment of all over whom he exercises influence. The punishment of these prisoners for obedience to his commands renders the detestation with which he is regarded deeper, if possible, than before.

Edward Monaghan, ex-constable of Shenandoah, was convicted of being an accessory before the fact to the assault and battery on William M. Thomas.

Michael O'Brien, Chris. Donnelly, and Frank O'Neil were convicted of aiding and abetting the escape of Thomas Hurley.

Michael, or Muff, Lawler was tried on the charge of being an accessory after the fact to the murder of Sanger and Uren. The jury did not agree.*

Lawler came on the witness-stand upon his own motion, and made what purported to be a confession. That he has made a full confession is doubted. He told, however, matters of very great interest. He entirely corroborated McParlan in his description of the visit to his house by the murderers of Uren and Sanger. He gave very important details relative to the attempted assassination of James Riles, in August, 1875, at Shenandoah. He asserts that he (Lawler) was regarded with suspicion by the "Molly" organization, a fact known from other sources, and that he was suspected by Jack Kehoe of being the informant

* He was again tried, and found guilty, November, 1876.

through whom Munley and McAllister were arrested for the murder of Sanger and Uren; that Jack Kehoe had determined upon his death, and was endeavoring to compass it at the very time when, with characteristic hypocrisy, he had issued to him a card reinstating him in full communion with the order.

His evidence was clear as to the criminal character of the organization. He told a story, which is otherwise authenticated, of an intention to burn down and murder the residents of Jackson's Patch, a colliery town near Mahanoy City. The facts of this case, as derived from the testimony of Muff Lawler, and from other sources, are about as follows:

Throughout the coal regions, and particularly in the county of Schuylkill, there exists a feud between the Kilkenny men and those from Queens and some other counties in Ireland. This feud of course originated beyond the ocean, but has been intensified in Schuylkill County. Some years ago the "Molly Maguire" organization was very powerful in Cass township, in that county, and among its members were a number of Kilkenny men. The old quarrel and prejudice could not, however, be repressed; and the Kilkenny men, being in the minority in the order, either left it or were turned out. Continual quarrels then arose, and what is known as the "Sheet-Iron Gang" was formed in opposition to the "Mollies." The extent of this organization is not very well understood. That there is anything criminal in it is not supposed. Its object would appear to be that of defense against "Molly" outrages. In the course of time the Kilkenny men became the most powerful in that section of the county, and the great majority of the "Mollies" in Cass and adjoining townships, finding that retaliation followed very quickly any outrage upon a Kilkenny man, beat a retreat and settled in force over the Broad Mountain and in the

Mahanoy Valley. But there, too, a number of Kilkenny men resided, and the "Sheet-Iron Gang" was introduced. The two divisions of Irishmen naturally chose different localities, and Jackson's Patch was held in possession by Kilkenny.

It is said that a good Catholic priest was much concerned at the outrages and crimes committed by the "Mollies," and called a number of his parishioners into consultation. He suggested that, in order to do his full duty, and that he might break up the order, if possible, he should have knowledge not only of the crimes of the "Mollies" but also of the names of the members. He asked the assistance of his parishioners. His idea was to form a sort of detective police.

But not so did they understand it. They took an original but Irish view of the matter. Their idea of breaking up the order assumed a different form. They traveled as much as possible in a body, and very frequently, when they met a known "Molly," they would give him a severe thrashing. They made a number of incursions into Mahanoy City, and upon one occasion beat James Doyle and Michael J. Doyle, who were on a visit there from Mount Laffee, the last being the man now under sentence for the murder of John P. Jones.

That this condition of affairs should excite bitter feelings of resentment among the "Mollies" was natural. Two men, named Edward Burke and James Whalen, residing at Jackson's Patch, had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious, and against them special vengeance was sought.

Where one of this band of "model detectives" could be found, there also were his companions. They generally moved in a body. Irishmen have a habit, when walking together along a country road, of marching Indian file. The Kilkenny boys form no exception to the rule, and in Indian file they were generally seen. From this circum-

stance, and from their being constantly together, the "Mollies" gave them the name of the "Chain Gang," in addition to that of the "Sheet-Iron Gang."

The purpose of revenge upon Whalen and Burke excited considerable discussion throughout the order of "Mollies" in that section, and it was finally determined to burn down their houses at Jackson's Patch during the night-time (which would have caused the destruction of the whole town) and to shoot them down as they came out. Philip Nash, Bucky Donnelly, and John McDonald, of Mahanoy City, were said to be at the head of the movement.

This occurred in the autumn of 1873. Muff Lawler, who is not naturally blood-thirsty, endeavored to prevent the perpetration of this crime. Lawler, although not willing to engage in the active participation of high crime himself, was in constant association with the criminals, had their confidence, and did not as a rule discourage it. Because in this matter he was expected to take part, he endeavored to prevent it. He went over to Mahanoy City, saw McDonald, and attempted to persuade him to abandon the enterprise. He pointed out the serious nature of the crime contemplated,—the burning of houses, the destruction of property, and the sacrifice of the lives not only of men but also of women and children, together with the indignation it would arouse in the whole community.

The matter was discussed at length, and McDonald was at last convinced. He agreed to aid Lawler in preventing the outrage, if possible.

On the night of the 28th of November, 1873, about two hundred men, under the lead of Philip Nash, Bucky Donnelly, and John McDonald, assembled in front of Lawler's house, with the intention of going over to Jackson's Patch. Ed Monaghan was in the party, as was also Patrick Butler, of Lost Creek.

It was expected that Barney Dolan, County Delegate,

would be present and lead the crowd. Dolan not making his appearance, opportunity was thus offered to both Lawler and McDonald to make objections. Philip Nash and Bucky Donnelly wanted to consummate the enterprise, but under the influence at work it was abandoned. Many of the men assembled did not know what was intended to be done, nor did they care. They were ready for any act, however criminal.

During the September sessions Thomas Donahue, who had years before been tried and acquitted in Columbia County for the murder of Alexander Rae, was convicted of being accessory after the fact to the assault and battery upon William M. Thomas. It will be remembered that Donahue paid John Gibbons some money, and took him over to Rupert in a carriage, after that assault.

The case of the Commonwealth against Charles Mulhearn, John J. Slattery, John Stanton, and Michael Doolan, was called by District Attorney Kaercher on the 23d of September.

The charge against the prisoners was that of conspiracy to kill the two Majors, with the details of which affair the reader is already familiar.

It was a memorable day in court. That the "Molly Maguires" were disorganized, demoralized, and desperate was known, but the evidence of that fact, now being presented, was nevertheless the occasion of heartfelt rejoicing. Charles Mulhearn, one of the defendants, a member of the "Mollies" of many years' standing, and deep in the confidence of the organization, entered the plea of "guilty," and the jury was sworn as to the others.

James McParlan was called to the witness-stand, and gave testimony as to the convention held on the 1st of June, 1875, and the character of the organization. His testimony was received with scarcely a question, and yet Messrs. Ryon, Bartholomew, and S. A. Garrett appeared

for the defense. They had learned from experience that McParlan was impregnable. Frank McHugh, convicted of the same offense, told his story. John Maloy, one of the guilty parties, told of the meeting of the Tuscarora Division. James Kerrigan, the "informer," also testified; but Jimmy, having been the first to "squeal," and being regarded with the greatest antagonism, was subjected to severe cross-examination.

Charles Mulhearn testified as to the main facts of the case, and, as an older member of the order than McParlan, and for years in its confidence, not only fully corroborated the detective, but even in this case gave information beyond McParlan's reach.

John J. Slattery, of whom much mention has been made, upon his own motion went upon the witness-stand and told his sad story. Slattery was a man of ability and influence, and deep in the secrets of the order.

The scene afforded a marked contrast to that of but little over four months before,—on the 6th of May,—when first McParlan went upon the witness-stand, in the same court-room, in the "first Yost case," with the organization, bold and defiant, facing him. He then stood alone, for from such support as Kerrigan could give him he derived little comfort. To guard his life he was surrounded by a strong body of police. To maintain his character he was doubly guarded, for, though he was telling nothing but the truth, he was attacked by skillful and earnest attorneys, and he well knew that if by perjured testimony he could be contradicted, hundreds would be ready to testify.

But on the 23d of September he took his place upon the stand, having up to this time not only unaided sustained himself, but having materially assisted Kerrigan. Within a few days Muff Lawler and Pat Butler had told their stories, corroborating his testimony, and this day he was almost unquestioned. He was now again corroborated by

young Frank McHugh, Jimmy Kerrigan, John Maloy, John J. Slattery, and Charles Mulhearn, and the two latter understood the order thoroughly.

McParlan was now able to walk the streets of Pottsville unguarded. It had been supposed that he had painted the devil too black; but that he had laid on the color with a cautious hand was at last recognized.

But there was one not then ready to flinch, and that was Yellow Jack Donahue, convicted and awaiting sentence for the same offense for which Slattery and others were on trial.

A question arose as to whether Stanton, the prisoner at the bar, was the Stanton who had come to Tuscarora with Jerry Kane. McParlan had no information or knowledge on the subject. Kerrigan said he was. Charles Mulhearn said the Stanton who had come to Tuscarora was a different-looking man.

Captain Linden was anxious that no mistake should be made. On the part of the Commonwealth, whilst there was a determination that no guilty man should escape, there was no desire to convict the innocent.

One of the police-officers, well acquainted with Yellow Jack, conceived an idea, and upon his own motion put it in execution. He visited him in prison, told him the circumstances, and of the trial going on, and asked if the Stanton on trial was the man who had been at the meeting in Tuscarora. The old rascal looked the officer full in the eye, and said, "The whole thing is a d—d lie. There never was such a meeting at all."

Slattery and Michael Doolan were convicted, but the doubt which had been thrown upon the question of Stanton's guilt by the evidence of Mulhearn occasioned his acquittal and discharge from custody.

Immediately after the adjournment of the regular session of the court a "habeas corpus" hearing was held in the case of Thomas P. Fisher, County Delegate of Carbon

County, and Patrick McKenna, body-master of Stone Hill, who had been arrested during the week, charged with the murder of Morgan Powell, at Summit Hill, in 1871.

Charles Mulhearn, an accomplice and eye-witness, told the story of the murder, implicating Yellow Jack Donahue, Matthew Donahue, Alexander Campbell, Thomas P. Fisher, Cornelius McHugh, Patrick McKenna, and others. Slattery gave evidence of the confession of Yellow Jack. The prisoners were sent to Mauch Chunk for trial, the offense having been committed in Carbon County.

The wind had been sown, and the whirlwind was to be reaped.

On the 16th of October a long line of convicted "Mollies," handcuffed and together fastened to a chain, were brought into the court-room of Schuylkill County for sentence.

The solemnity of the occasion impressed all present except, seemingly, the prisoners, who assumed an air of unconcern and talked and laughed among themselves.

Thomas Donahue, accessory after the fact to the assault and battery on William M. Thomas, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment at labor.

Edward Monaghan, accessory before the fact to assault and battery on William M. Thomas, to seven years' imprisonment at labor.

Barney N. Boyle, perjury, three years at labor.

Kate Boyle, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

Bridget Hyland, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

Thomas Duffy, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

John Kehoe, John Morris, Dennis F. Canning, Christopher Donnelly, John Gibbons, and Michael O'Brien, convicted of complicity in assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas, were respectively sentenced to seven years' imprisonment at hard labor.

John Kehoe, Dennis F. Canning, Patrick Dolan, Sr., Michael O'Brien, Christopher Donnelly, and Frank O'Neil, convicted of conspiracy to kill Jesse and William Major, were sentenced as follows:

John Kehoe, seven years.

Dennis F. Canning, seven years.

Patrick Dolan, Sr., one year.

Christopher Donnelly, five years.

Michael O'Brien, five years.

The two last named, together with Frank O'Neil, were sentenced to two years, respectively, for aiding Thomas Hurley to escape.

The sentences of Michael Doolan, Charles Mulhearn, John J. Slattery, Patrick Butler, and Frank McHugh were postponed.

But if the prisoners appeared careless and unconcerned, not so did their wives and families. With them the day for acting had passed. As the sentences were pronounced, unrestrainable cries of heartfelt agony arose. The dread reality was upon them. Punishment had come at last. The prison-doors were now closing for years upon those loved best on earth. Wives and little children outside the prison-walls are the sufferers. Desolate and unprotected, they are thrown on the world with blackened name and desperate fortune. God help them!

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MURDER OF MORGAN POWELL—TRIAL OF YELLOW JACK DONAHUE.

At Mauch Chunk, on the 19th of October, 1876, before the court there held, his Honor Judge Dreher presiding, District Attorney Siewers called for trial the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* John Donahue *alias* Yellow Jack, Thomas P. Fisher, Patrick McKenna, and Alexander Campbell, charged with the murder of Morgan Powell. Separate trials were demanded, and the District Attorney elected to try Yellow Jack Donahue, who had been sent from Pottsville to Mauch Chunk to answer for the crime now charged.

And now again was shown how the fortunes of the order had fallen. Yellow Jack Donahue was without counsel. He is an old member of the society, was body-master of Tuscarora Division, and a successful defense for him was of great importance not only to those with whom he was jointly charged, but also to the organization generally. And yet he was on trial for his life, and his friends and former associates were powerless to assist him.

The court appointed Wm. M. Rapsher, Frederick Bertolette, Peter J. Meehan, and James S. Loose, Esqs.,—who have not saved him from conviction, for no skill, labor, or preparation could have done that, but who, nevertheless, represented him before the court with zeal and ability.

The murder of Morgan Powell has been heretofore described. Its history as developed on this trial was substan-

tially as follows. Alexander Campbell,* in the summer of 1871, made application to Morgan Powell, a boss in the employ of the Lehigh Navigation and Coal Company, for a contract as a miner to work a breast of coal in one of the mines of the company. This was refused, and he in consequence became very angry. He made complaint to the "Labor Union," but his was a case possessing no merit whatever. He was not a skilled miner, and had but little knowledge of the business, whilst at the time old and experienced miners were out of employment for want of work. The "Labor Union," therefore, refused to interfere.

This enraged Campbell still further. He had ability and influence. He operated among the "Mollies," and very soon inflamed them against Powell. He asserted that an Irishman had no chance whatever to obtain work; that the contracts were given to the Welsh and English, whilst an Irishman was refused work, and in proof of this cited his own case as an instance. He very soon had Thomas P. Fisher and Patrick McKenna actively enlisted, and as earnest as himself in plotting the destruction of Powell. His assassination must have been generally understood and agreed to among the order there, as McKenna and Fisher asserted that one hundred men were willing to pay one dollar each to have it accomplished.

Men from a distance were required. Yellow Jack Donahue, who was then, and up to the time of his arrest, at the head of the order in Tuscarora, was consulted, and undertook "the job." He started for Summit Hill from Tuscarora for this purpose on the afternoon of December 2, 1871, in company with Charles Mulhearn and Matthew Donahue. On their way they stopped at Paddy Maley's tavern in Tamaqua, where they met by appointment a man named Cornelius McHugh, who joined the party, and

* Convicted of the murder of John P. Jones.

guided them by an unfrequented road to Sweeny's tavern at Summit Hill, where McHugh said they were to meet Campbell and Fisher.*

At Sweeny's they found a number of men assembled, some of them not belonging to the order. On this account the contemplated murder was not discussed. The drinking was heavy, and several fights occurred. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. After remaining at Sweeny's for some time, the two Donahues, Mulhearn, Patrick McKenna, and Fisher walked down the street to the railroad, at a point between a store kept by a man named Williamson and the office of the coal company. While there they were joined by Campbell, who was at this time wearing a soldier overcoat for the purpose of a disguise.

Powell was in the store with his son. The party waited for some minutes on the street for him to make his appearance. The two Donahues, Fisher, and Campbell stood together, Pat McKenna and Mulhearn some little distance away from them. Whilst waiting, the character of Powell was discussed. Both Pat McKenna and Tom Fisher said that he would give an Irishman no show, whilst Fisher, as proof of the truth of the assertion, called attention to the fact that he had refused Campbell's request for work.

Powell came out of the store and was on his way to the office of the company to see Mr. Zehner, when Yellow

* It now appears (Dec. 16, 1876) that the murder of John P. Jones was agreed to before that of Morgan Powell. Thomas P. Fisher urged the Jones murder, but Campbell, who either had more influence or more energy, was first successful. At that time Tamaqua was included in the Tuscarora division, and part of the consideration for the murder of Powell was that men from Summit Hill should murder a man named Coleraine at Tamaqua, who was living with the wife of an Irishman there. A party from Summit Hill went over to do the "job," but Coleraine had disappeared. When Powell was murdered, a party of men stood off at a distance to see "the fun." Cornelius McHugh has testified as to his knowledge of the transaction.

Jack stepped forward, and on the instant leveled his pistol and shot him in the body. Powell, exclaiming, "Oh. my God! I am shot!" fell upon the railroad track. He was mortally wounded, but he lingered until the following Monday morning, when he died.

After the shot was fired, the assassins, without waiting to find out what was the result, dispersed. The two Donahues, Mulhearn, and Pat McKenna ran to the bush. The murder was perpetrated about nine o'clock in the evening, and near the centre of the town. The sound of the pistol attracted attention, and before the fugitives could escape they met several men. When outside of the town and in the bush, they saw a man named Sweeny, under whose guidance they wended their way by unfrequented paths to Tamaqua.

When there, the party again visited Paddy Maley's, to whom Donahue, proud of the work he had done, gave a detailed description of the transaction.

A few days after the murder, Campbell, the two Donahues, Fisher, Mulhearn, and others, again met at Paddy Maley's. Fisher ordered liquor to be sent to a room on the second floor, to which room the party assembled adjourned. There were nine or ten men present. Fisher had not raised the one hundred dollars promised; he had not been able to do so, he said, but he had succeeded in getting thirty dollars, which he handed over to Yellow Jack. He suggested that the money should be divided with Mat Donahue and Mulhearn. This was agreed to; Mat Donahue received ten dollars, but Mulhearn was never paid.

Yellow Jack Donahue is a much older man than either Thomas Munley or Thomas Hurley; he had committed more crimes than either of them; and yet on this occasion he displayed the same arrogance and self-consequence that Munley afterwards did when Sanger was killed, and

that Hurley displayed after the murder of Gomer James. These parties not only claimed admiration and demanded authority by reason of their crimes, but their claims and demands were acceded to. The members of the organization, as McParlan has testified, liked a man who committed crimes and escaped punishment.

Yellow Jack, on this occasion, was specially important and authoritative. He said that he had notified John Maloy, Johnny Maloy, and Pat O'Donnell to go over with him on the 2d of December to Summit Hill; that they had not done so, and he intended to fine them five dollars apiece for not obeying orders. Paddy Maley excused them; the three had come to his house, he said, for the purpose of going over, not ten minutes after the party had left. "Very well," said Yellow Jack: "they have just saved their distance."*

Campbell was envious of the glory with which Donahue had covered himself, and sought to undermine him. He criticised him severely to Mulhearn because he had not given him (Mulhearn) any money. He also blamed Fisher for not raising the one hundred dollars, and said that he could have been more successful in obtaining it.

The murder of Morgan Powell is a crime of which Yellow Jack Donahue has always been proud. The point seems to be that almost superhuman courage is displayed if a single man with a pistol suddenly approaches an unarmed and unsuspecting man whom he shoots and mortally wounds. For such a reason Tom Hurley claimed credit for his murder, and it was for this reason that Campbell

* More admiration was accorded to a man who shot his victim than to one who accomplished his purpose without the use of fire-arms. This is, perhaps, owing to the fact that in Ireland but few fire-arms are owned by the peasantry, and they are unaccustomed to their use. In the early days of the "Buckshots" and "Molly Maguires," a billy with iron or lead on the end was used. It was a formidable weapon.

insisted that Hugh McGeehan was the best man in Carbon County. Boyle was present, but McGeehan did the work. Yellow Jack was boastful for years afterwards of this crime. He told Slattery the story in detail; he told McParlan, and he told Kerrigan and others.*

It will be observed that in the year 1871 (the same year the Ancient Order of Hibernians was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania) the criminal purposes of the organization were fully recognized by its members. The murder of Morgan Powell was perpetrated, without any effort at secrecy among the order, at an early hour in the night, and in the street of a town where persons were continually passing.

According to the statement of Fisher, made to Donahue, at least one hundred men around Summit Hill knew and approved of the act. When the price of blood was paid—

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* It is asserted that even "Yellow Jack" at one period in his life had some conscience. Shortly after the commission of his first murder, his child, a little girl, died. Donahue told a friend that he was, after her death, in constant company with ghosts; that the murdered man would often appear to him, and that his little girl would come and stand before him at any hour of the day or night, with a sad and sorrowful expression of countenance, and in a beseeching attitude. The child was one-half of inky blackness, and the other pure white.

He confessed his sufferings to a priest. He was informed that the apparitions visited him as a punishment for his sins, and that by reason of his crimes his child was in suffering and in pain; that the black part seen in the child represented himself, whilst the white came from the mother; that the only source of relief for himself and the child was in his true repentance of past sins and in his observance of good and righteous conduct in the future. Nevertheless, he was still haunted; the murdered man still appeared, and the child, still black and white, besought him. He went from one priest to another, and all spoke to him of repentance and pure living. Finally he went to New York, where, Jack says, he met a priest who relieved him. Whilst he was suffering, Jack endeavored to amend his life, but the ghostly apparitions ceased, and never again visited him. He again commenced a career of crime, in which he has continued, so far as is known, without one pang of conscience.

strange to say, the equivalent of thirty pieces of silver—the money was handed over in the presence of strangers, whose names were not known to the murderers, and whose persons are forgotten. Yellow Jack talked coolly of fining three men five dollars each for not obeying his summons to kill a man whom they did not know and against whom they bore no malice.

The murdered man was a boss in the employ of the Lehigh Navigation and Coal Company, and as a consequence that company has taken an active part in bringing the criminals to justice.

District Attorney Siewers appeared for the Commonwealth, and with him Messrs. Hughes and Albright. The gentlemen before named appointed by the court appeared for the defense. The preparation made by the Commonwealth was perfect. Charles Mulhearn* testified to the full details of the murder, and strong corroborative testimony was given. Men around Sweeny's tavern on the night of

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* Mulhearn is no favorable specimen even of a "Molly." On the trial of this cause he was outspoken and frank as to his own crimes, as well as those of others, but admitted that he was so in the hope that he could in that way somewhat lessen his own punishment.

He told, among other things, of his having severely beaten a "boss" at Hazleton at the request of Charley Boyle, the body-master at that place. He said that he went up to the "boss" and asked for a job of work. The "boss" replied that they did not need any more workmen at that time; whereupon he (Mulhearn) knocked him down. When down, assisted by two men named Ben McMannin and Jimmy Malloy, he gave him a severe beating. They then told the "boss" he might get up, and if he would be "a good boy" they would let him alone in the future.

When Mulhearn was testifying, the recollection of this scene and of the sufferings of their victim seemed to afford him intense satisfaction; the villain chuckled and laughed as if he were relating a commendable action, of which he was proud and in which he had been the chief actor.

In describing to each other any outrage or murder committed, the "Mollies" seem to revel in the recollection of the agony and sufferings of the victim. Several have asserted that the great pleasure of a murder consisted in hearing what they termed the "squeal" of the dying man.

December 2, 1871, the men who met the murderers on their retreat to the bush, and men corroborating Mulhearn on other points, were called to the witness-stand and testified.

Jimmy Kerrigan testified that he was one of Yellow Jack's confidants in this matter. So also was John J. Slattery. Slattery's testimony in this case has excited much attention. It was on this occasion that he stated that the Ancient Order of Hibernians was a criminal organization throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Maine. He claimed that his knowledge was derived from county delegates and other members of the order. He testified that Jack Kehoe, the County Delegate of Schuylkill County, had told him that the National Board in New York had contributed to send a murderer (Michael Doyle) out of the country. Patrick Butler had previously testified to the same effect in one of the conspiracy cases.*

It was in this case that Slattery testified to the sale of the "Molly Maguire" vote in Schuylkill and Luzerne Counties, and also in Pittsburg, in the gubernatorial election of 1875, and to its purchase by Republican politicians. He and John Kehoe had agreed in behalf of the "Mollies" of Schuylkill County, and he had also arranged for the purchase of the Luzerne County vote. He also testified to former corrupt political practices by the organization.

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* The detectives have now (December, 1876) obtained information, which they consider reliable, that the officers of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in New York assisted with money Friday O'Donnell and James McAllister in their escape from arrest as the murderers of Sanger and Uren. They were sent to England.

An effort has been made by McAllister's friends to create the impression that he is dead; that he died somewhere in the Western States from the effect of the wound received in December, 1875, at Wiggan's Patch. From more reliable information now obtained, this is not credited. It would not be proper to state the source of the information at this time, and it is therefore withheld.

On the 24th of October, after argument of counsel and the charge of his Honor Judge Dreher, the jury rendered a verdict of "murder in the first degree" against John Donahue, *alias* "Yellow Jack."

During this term of court at Mauch Chunk there were several convictions for perjury committed during the trial of Alexander Campbell, and among others that of a man named McShea, who had testified that Kerrigan was in Luzerne County, attending a "wake," the night previous to the murder of John P. Jones. Strangely enough, the principal witness against McShea was Jimmy Kerrigan himself.

Jimmy, emulous of McParlan, played the part of a detective, and conversed with McShea through the pipes of the Mauch Chunk prison. Kerrigan gave McShea a false name and a false account of himself, and invited confidence. McShea told him the whole story as to how and why he was induced to testify. McShea soon discovered his mistake, and abused Kerrigan for deceiving him. In this matter a singular coincidence occurred. On the 19th of October, 1875, McShea came to Mauch Chunk prepared to swear in behalf of Kerrigan. The story then prepared he did swear to on the trial of Alexander Campbell. Exactly one year afterwards, on the 19th of October, 1876, he was convicted of perjury, mainly on the evidence of Kerrigan. There was no semblance of ingratitude on Jimmy's part in this. McShea was not an acquaintance, and did not come to testify out of any personal regard or care for him. He was merely obeying the commands of the order. When he did testify, it was for the purpose of contradicting Kerrigan, who had made his confession months before.

On the 8th of November, 1876, the notorious Patrick Hester and Michael Graham were brought to Pottsville and committed to prison under the charge of having mur-

dered Alexander Rae, in Columbia County, on the 17th of October, 1868. On the same day Patrick McHugh, ex-County Delegate of Northumberland County, was also committed to answer the charge of having been an accomplice in that murder. Another prisoner now in the Schuylkill County jail has confessed and has appeared on the witness-stand. A man named Tully, who it is charged fired the shot which caused Mr. Rae's death, has also been arrested. Hester, along with Patrick Duffy and Thomas Donahue, was charged with this offense shortly after its commission. Duffy and Donahue were tried and acquitted. Hester, on motion of his counsel, was discharged.

At a court held in Pottsville the second week of November, 1876, Muff Lawler was again tried on the charge of being an accessory after the fact to the murder of Thomas Sanger. On the former trial the jury had failed to agree. In the trial now had the jury rendered their verdict of guilty. Lawler is shrewd and plausible. He made his statement on the witness-stand at both trials. He corroborated McParlan in the statements made, but he so colored his testimony as to create the impression that, notwithstanding his guilt, he was more sinned against than sinning. Lawler is a man of intelligence, of good appearance, and can hardly be ranked among the worst men in the order.

The following week the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Charles McAllister, charged with assault and battery with intent to kill James Riles, was called by District Attorney Kaercher. The facts of this case have been heretofore detailed. The prisoner was convicted.

During the week McAllister was tried a jury was impaneled in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Neil Dougherty, charged with the murder of F. W. Langdon. Dougherty was charged as one of the perpetrators of the murder, along with John Kehoe, John Chapman, John

Campbell, Columbus McGee, and Michael McGee. Separate trials had been demanded, and the District Attorney elected to try Dougherty. A noteworthy incident occurred when the prisoners first appeared in court: several of them refused to shake hands with or in any way recognize Jack Kehoe. How had the mighty fallen! The main reason for demanding separate trials was the fear of his association. And yet Kehoe was the County Delegate of Schuylkill, who but one year before had claimed to hold in his hand the political destiny of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and whose claim was certainly more than a mere idle boast! His influence was bought with money and with honeyed words. Much less than one year before, he was a chieftain in his order, and now his fellows in crime turned from him with aversion, with disgust, and in fear. Truly the power of the "Molly Maguire" had passed away!

Dougherty was without counsel. The court appointed J. M. Healey, W. J. Whitehouse, and S. A. Garrett, Esqs. He was defended with ability.

Dougherty's connection with the murder of Langdon was shown. A description of the murder has been heretofore given, and need not be here repeated. On the 29th of November the jury found the prisoner "guilty of murder in the second degree."

F. W. Langdon was murdered fourteen years ago; one of his murderers has now been convicted; others charged with the crime are awaiting trial.

As this is being written,* the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Thomas P. Fisher, the County Delegate of Carbon County, and Patrick McKenna, body-master of Storm Hill, charged with the murder of Morgan Powell, is on trial in Carbon County.

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* December 10, 1876.

The murderers of Geo. K. Smith are known, and some of them will probably have to answer for that crime. The secret of the Littlehales murder it is believed has been discovered, and it is hoped that the perpetrators of that foul deed will soon be called upon to answer.

The story of many an outrage and murder is still obscure, but every day new and strange developments are made. It is not true "that time at last sets all things even." The detection of crime and the punishment of criminals may insure peace and the supremacy of law throughout the anthracite coal-fields, but the punishment of criminals affords no compensation for the outrages perpetrated upon the innocent. It cannot bring to life the many good men murdered in cold blood, nor blot out the tears or assuage the sufferings of the sorrowing wives and children. Justice demands that the poor wretches convicted of crimes shall be punished; but their punishment will not purify the blackened souls or restore the wrecked lives of those who have been under "Molly" control and influenced by "Molly" precepts. The punishment of the criminal cannot blot out the record of the past, nor can it destroy the memory of the terrorism, the lawlessness, and the wide-spread corruption of many years. Nor does punishment answer any purpose of revenge. There is among the masses of the people no craving for blood; sorrow is felt for the criminals, and deep pity for their unfortunate families.

Punishment is demanded, not in compensation for past sufferings nor in a spirit of anger, but in the hope that in the future the existence of the "Molly Maguire" will have become an impossibility, and the past be recalled only as a painful memory.

But the lesson must be taught that the lapse of years will not save the murderer from punishment; that the criminal may become proud, arrogant, defiant, and ap-

parently secure, but the day of reckoning must come at last:

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience he stands waiting,
With exactness grinds he all."

CHAPTER XXXII.

TRIALS CONTRASTED—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH—HAS THE END COME?

THE trial and conviction of Yellow Jack Donahue would seem to form a fitting conclusion to a history of the "Molly Maguire" of the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania. The "Molly Maguire" society is shattered, disorganized, and, it is hoped, forever broken.

Yellow Jack was not only an old member of the order, but he had for years been a leader. He would approve of a crime as quickly as Jack Kehoe, and would, like him, insist upon its perpetration. But Kehoe, as a rule, was satisfied with suggesting and otherwise furthering crime. He was too cowardly for its actual perpetration. Yellow Jack was one of the very few old men who both advised and executed. His acquittal was of the greatest importance to McKenna, Fisher, and McHugh, also charged with the murder for which he was on trial. He is believed to have been the principal actor in at least four murders, and his connection with conspiracies to murder is in some cases proven, and in others suspected. And yet Yellow Jack, the instigator, the abettor, the leader in crime, was on trial for his life, and his friends and former associates were powerless to assist.

How different the scene but a few short months before

in the same court-room, when Michael J. Doyle was on trial for the murder of John P. Jones! Doyle was a young man, comparatively unknown; a mere follower, not a leader in the order; but danger existed that as against him the law would be enforced. Throughout the anthracite coal-fields the "Molly Maguire" was aroused, assistance was given, and sympathy expressed. Nearly thirty witnesses were ready, still more were willing, to perjure themselves in his behalf. The "Molly" of Luzerne, of Northumberland, of Schuylkill, and of Carbon Counties crowded the court-room and the streets of Mauch Chunk. In the court their presence was recognized and their interference guarded against. They were boastful, arrogant, and defiant. Eminent counsel appeared for the defense; danger to the order was not feared, but an attack upon one of its members was resented in wrath, and threats of summary vengeance were rife among them.

When Yellow Jack was tried, he was ably defended, but by counsel appointed by the court; his fellows were scattered, disorganized, or within prison-walls.*

There has been no intention to give in this history a description of all the outrages and murders committed by this terrible organization. To have attempted it would have answered no good purpose; their general character has been the same, and a mere summary of the crimes would fill volumes. The object in view has been to show the nature of the organization and its mode of perpetrating crimes, to give some idea of its extent, and to explain the possibility of its existence. Its general characteristics, it

* During the trial, Yellow Jack, who has some education, was reading a newspaper. He asked permission of the owner of the paper to take it with him to jail, saying, at the same time, that he had nothing to read. "How is that?" inquired the gentleman: "your friends will be allowed to furnish you with reading-matter." "Friends!" replied Yellow Jack. "Good God! I have not a friend on earth."

is believed, are now understood, but new and sickening details are daily coming to light, and such developments will continue for years to come.

Much has been proven, and much more has been learned, but from many a terrible and bloody deed of the past the veil will never be lifted. It was thought that McKenna, without relatives or friends, might be murdered, his body hidden, and no inquiries be made. McKenna escaped; but many a poor laborer and miner has been murdered, and the influence of the terrorism existing, and the disgrace attaching to an informer, have prevented inquiry or even publicity. If the true history of many a "premature explosion in the mines" were written, the hellish work of the "Molly" would be revealed. By the whole community the "Molly Maguire" has been dreaded, and against the whole community has his hand been lifted.

The detection, exposure, and disorganization of the order have been told. The execution of the final sentence of the law is yet in the future, and the sentence of that law, in no spirit of revenge, but as a painful necessity, must be inflicted. Pity may and will be extended to the criminals, but there must be no false mercy, no sham philanthropy. The penalty to be inflicted is a fearful one, but how much more fearful the crimes committed! how much more fearful the organization in which those crimes had birth! If firmness is maintained, the organization is broken forever; if weakness or irresolution is shown in carrying out the full sentence, the order will again spring into existence, a greater terror than ever before.

The "Molly Maguire" is an Irishman, or the son of an Irishman, professing the Roman Catholic faith. That he is a blot and disgrace to the land of his fathers, as well as to the land of his adoption, is felt more strongly by the great body of the Irish people than by any other class of the community.

He must profess the Catholic faith, and yet, to be a member of the order, he must remain outside of the pale of the Church and be denied Christian burial.

By those ignorant of the true facts of the case, the knowledge that a "Molly Maguire" must be an Irishman and a Catholic is used as an argument against the Church. But the charge rests upon no foundation whatever. It may be possible that more than one Catholic priest has sympathized with the order, but if so it has been in violation not only of his religion but also of his Church government. A priest, like any other mortal, may be tempted and fall. The "Molly" has had money, influence, power, to disorganize the congregation and to inflict personal injury. In very many instances he is an open and avowed infidel, intensely wicked and beyond control.

If through criminality, indolence, or fear a priest should yield, the man, and not the Church, must be denounced.

The Catholic Church is no more responsible for the acts of a recreant priest than is the Christian religion for the bad practices of any of its ministers. Religion, it is true, is by many held responsible for the immoral and criminal acts of its representatives, but such responsibility is only thrust upon it by those who wish to excuse their own scoffing and unbelief. Nothing can be more illogical than to argue against religion itself that some of its ministers are hypocrites. These are simply false teachers of a true doctrine.

In practice and in theory the Catholics have been and are in active opposition to the "Molly Maguire" and kindred organizations.

When the "Ribbon" society was in its full strength in Ireland, the Catholic priesthood was accused of being in sympathy with the order. The accusation was pressed with such a degree of force that the matter was deemed worthy of attention by Parliament, and an investiga-

tion was directed. The secrets of the Ribbonmen were laid bare; the detective had been among them, the informer had betrayed; but the charge against the priesthood was found to be mere idle scandal, and report was made to Parliament completely exonerating them. It must be borne in mind that this report could only have resulted from a disposition to render strict justice, for it was against the prejudices and belief of a large body of the English people.

That in this country Archbishop Wood has been earnest in his efforts to break up the "Molly" organization is well known. He was aware of the progress of the detective as one by one the dark records of crime were exposed.

On the 3d of October, 1874, at a time when the great body of the community were resting in fancied security, the Catholic clergy were outspoken in their denunciations of the order and active in their opposition.

In the *Freeman's Journal* of that date the following priests, viz.: Rev. D. J. McDermott, now of Pottsville, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania; Rev. Michael Sherman, Ashland, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania; Rev. H. F. O'Reilly, Shenandoah, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania; Rev. D. O'Conner, Mahanoy Plane, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania; Rèv. Jos. Bridgeman, Girardville, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania; Rev. E. T. Field, Centralia, Columbia County, Pennsylvania; Rev. Joseph Koch, Shamokin, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, published, signed, and indorsed the following propositions:

1. "Ribbonmen and kindred societies have been *nominatim* condemned by the Holy See."

2. "A society in America organized on the same basis, holding the same principles, and animated by the same spirit, comes within the condemnation of its prototype in Ireland."

3. "When the spirit and principles as manifested in acts

are the same, it matters very little by what name the society is styled."

4. "The testimony of members, ex-members, public report, and our experience compel us to believe that the A. O. H. has all the vices of societies *nominatim* condemned in Ireland."

5. "Experience has proved that no faith is to be placed in the most solemn promises or denials of the A. O. H."

6. "It is certain that a fear, terror of punishment, that may in secrecy be decreed in upper circles, compels members to execute commands given under the countersign, no matter how repugnant to the laws of God and man those commands may be."

7. "Men of notoriously infamous character (the constitution and by-laws to the contrary notwithstanding) have not only been admitted to membership, but elected to office, and actually control the society in many places."

8. "Evidence sufficient to convince the most skeptical has come to light that works forbidden by the commandment 'thou shalt not kill' are traceable to the A. O. H."

9. "The spirit and acts of the A. O. H. are clearly condemned by the plainest teachings of the Decalogue."

10. "It is in vain to eliminate the objectionable features from the letter of the laws of such society while the same spirit, the same traditions remain, and the same men control it."

Rev. D. J. McDermott, in a published letter, dated May 11, 1876, gives it as his opinion that the Ancient Order of Hibernians is a "*diabolical secret society*, and that it is everywhere *the same society* in spirit and government."

The opinions expressed by the reverend gentlemen above named were generally held and expressed by the clergymen of the Philadelphia Diocese.

The Catholic denounces all secret societies outside of the pale of the Church, however innocent may be their

avowed object. The Church has claimed for centuries a right to interfere in the temporal concerns of kingdoms and of men. It brooks no rival, it claims full allegiance.

Whatever opposition there may be to the claims of the Church by those not its members, and however those claims may be denounced, it is beyond denial that its religion and morality are pure. To sympathize with the "Molly Maguire" would be contrary to the religion, the spirit, the government, and the traditions of the Church. A charge against the Catholics of sympathy with the "Molly Maguire" is not founded in the facts of the case, is against the theory of their Church government, and therefore either has its origin in misrepresentation or is made through ignorance and prejudice.

Is "Molly Maguire" outrage at an end? The question is asked in fear and answered in doubt.

The organization is broken, but in the throes of its dissolution spasmodic but fearful crimes may be perpetrated.

Writs of error have been, or probably will be, taken in all the cases where there have been convictions of murder in the first degree.

In Schuylkill County, sentence of death has been passed upon Thomas Munley for the murder of Thomas Sanger, and upon James Carroll, James Roarity, Hugh McGeehan, James Boyle, and Thomas Duffy for the murder of B. F. Yost. In Carbon County, Michael J. Doyle, Edward Kelly, and Alexander Campbell have been convicted of the murder of John P. Jones, and John Donahue of the murder of Morgan Powell.* There will probably be other convictions

* December 16, 1876, Thomas P. Fisher, County Delegate of Carbon County, was convicted of "murder in the first degree." He was charged with the murder of Morgan Powell. On the same day Patrick McKenna, charged with the same offense, was convicted of "murder in the second degree." The proof of McKenna's guilt was probably as strong as that of Fisher's, but it appeared in evidence that Fisher was the worse man of

and sentences of the same nature within the next few months in Schuylkill, Carbon, and Columbia Counties. The execution of so great a number of criminals must of necessity create great excitement among the members of the organization. The stern reality must be considered fairly and openly.

Not one of these men, nor any of his friends, believe that the final sentence of the law will ever be executed. There is not much hope felt by them of any action of the Supreme Court in their favor. It is possible there may have been error in some of the rulings of the courts below; that is the province of the Supreme Court to determine; but there is no presumption that there has been: the presumption is to the contrary.

It is well known that the several judges in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, whilst they did not shrink from any just responsibility, and whilst they would not permit the ends of justice to be defeated through captious objections to evidence, have, in a spirit becoming to the high offices they fill, ruled the several questions presented uninfluenced by public feeling, and in a spirit of especial care that no just rights of the prisoners should be withheld. They have very properly tempered justice with mercy, and in doubtful questions have ruled in favor of the prisoners.

The great hope of the convicted men and their friends is that they may escape by reason of the large number of convictions. "They might hang one or two," Edward Kelly was heard to say to a fellow-prisoner through the pipes of Mauch Chunk prison, "but they dare not hang so many: if they let any one go free, then they must let all free. It would not be fair to hang one and not the rest."

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the two. It is possible that the jury intended to express that opinion by the verdict.

When the full truth is known and appreciated, that the final sentence of the law must be executed,—that, whilst pity may be felt for the criminals, upon that point there dare be no hesitation, no doubt, no question,—a wild and bitter feeling of despair will fill the breasts of the prisoners, their families, and their former associates.

What may be the result no one can say. True, the leaders of the order, or most of them, are in prison or scattered, but the women are still free and without fear.

A good woman is better than a man could hope to be; but a bad woman can reach a depth of iniquity of which a man could scarcely dream.

Under "Molly" influence there are women fully as wicked as the men, and these women may urge the commission of acts from which men might shrink.

The situation is not without danger, very great danger, and it is but right that such danger should be appreciated, and, if possible, guarded against.

On the other hand, it is beginning to be feared in the order that there is such a feeling existing in the community that upon the perpetration of any great outrage vengeance will be quick, sure, deadly, tenfold. Many who belong to the order are known, and would be held responsible for outrage. Another element of safety lies in their fear of the detective and of the informer. They know not the McParlan among them now, and they regard one another with suspicion and distrust. They know that, although McParlan is not among them, their secrets are still laid bare, and they know, further, that "Kerrigan" it is who has to bear the brunt of the scorn and contumely of being an "informer," while the many who have exposed their secrets since have hardly excited passing attention.

Outrage in the future, if it occurs, will therefore proceed from spasmodic individual efforts, on the part of persons blind to consequences.

The "Molly" organization is broken, but that crime resulting from that organization should end can scarcely be hoped. It was a school for criminals, and many of its pupils are still at large. That school is now closed, it is hoped, forever. To be a "good hand at a clean job" will be no longer an object of youthful ambition.

It is to be hoped that the execution of the unhappy men who are now under sentence, and of those who may hereafter be sentenced for the crimes of the "Molly Maguire," will firmly establish law and order throughout the coal regions.

In 1852, Hodgens and Breen were condemned and executed in Monaghan, Ireland, for a conspiracy to murder Patrick McArdle. That in Ireland that offense was punishable by death could hardly be realized, and that they would be executed was not believed up to the last moment. On the day appointed for the execution, delegations from different lodges of Ribbonmen came into Monaghan in order to learn whether such a thing was possible. Exactly at the hour fixed the prisoners were executed. There was deep feeling, but no open manifestation; that was guarded against, and the Ribbonmen knew that precautions had been taken.

The execution of Hodgens and Breen was the deathblow to the "Ribbon" society in that part of Ireland. Many years passed by, and no outrage occurred. It is trusted that a like result will follow punishment of crime here. Neither Carroll, Roarity, Duffy, nor Campbell was engaged in the actual commission of the murders. Their fate may prove a warning to other old and cautious fiends in the order who suggest crime. If it has that effect, boys will not be encouraged to perpetrate it.

It is true that in Ireland many active members of the "Ribbon" society, frightened, at once fled to America, and others received such warning as induced them quickly

to follow. It is very possible that among the "Molly Maguires" of the anthracite coal-fields are many who in former years terrorized Ireland.

The same class of men are now in danger here. Some have gone to Ireland, but most of them have scattered throughout the United States. It is possible that, dispersed and away from the influences by which they have been surrounded, their mission for evil may have ended.

It must always be borne in mind, in considering these men, that, whilst they are criminals, they are not the ordinary criminals against whom all nations, all localities, and every age have had to guard. They are a class of criminals whose origin is traced to another land, and who are imbued with ideas and prejudices for which there is no shadow of foundation in this country. Their existence in this country has been shown to arise from certain peculiarities of their residence in the coal regions.

Their motive for crime not being the same as that of the ordinary criminal, they may learn amidst other associations to throw aside Old World ideas and prejudices. This is a result at least to be hoped for.

In this country such an organization was not deemed possible, and, unsuspected and unwatched, the "Molly Maguire" reached a power and influence in the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania he never obtained in Ireland.

The end has come at last. The organization, its character, and its purposes are understood. Its members are known, and will hereafter be held responsible for "Molly" outrage. If it occurs in the future there will be no immunity from punishment. The American people must work out their own destiny; they have a broad land, a varied climate, a productive soil, and rich minerals. Nature has been kind; she offers an inducement to enterprise and industry on an extended scale. The laws give to the foreigner, in common with the native-born, equal protec-

tion, equal rights, common hopes; no more is accorded to any one, so much is accorded to all.

If present and past members of the "Molly" organization, who have not been guilty of criminal acts, or who may escape punishment, should banish Old World ideas and rid themselves of Old World prejudices, and become in honesty and good faith American citizens, interested in the present and future of their adopted country, in their own well-being, they may learn to bless the day that brought "McParlan the detective" among them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE reign of the "Molly Maguire" is over. His record has been made and his acts have passed into history. His was a reign of blood. In the days of his pride and power no monarch was more potent, no Eastern despot more cruel and merciless. He held communities terror-bound, and in wanton malice he defied law, destroyed property, and sported with human life.

But retribution, long deferred, has come at last. Arrests have been made, and before the bar of outraged justice the accused have been called upon to answer charges of fearful crime. The protection of the law which they despised and trampled upon has been accorded them. They have had the benefit of able counsel, and it was only after fair and impartial trial that the verdict of "guilty" has been rendered. The dread sentence that the extreme penalty of the law shall be inflicted has been pronounced, but the punishment is yet to come.

Again has the "Molly" appealed to those laws which in the days of his power he scorned, and from the court of last resort on earth to him he seeks succor and aid. It is in the province of that court to determine whether in the trial of these cases in the courts below there has been error by which the prisoners have been affected. The decision of the judges of that court should, and no doubt will, be uninfluenced by public feeling, by prejudice, or by any consideration of the fearful character of the crimes of which the prisoners are guilty. Law is founded upon principle, and in accordance with principles that have received the sanction of ages will these cases be determined. Judgment will be rendered in accordance with the law applicable to the records presented. A belief in the actual guilt or innocence of the prisoners cannot affect the decision of legal questions. A judge who would seek so to construe the law as to make it conform to the facts of a special case, instead of deciding upon principle, may in such case render a righteous judgment; but as the "Molly Maguire" destroys the life of his victim, so will such judge destroy the life of the law. To construe the law to suit cases, instead of deciding cases in accordance with law, occasions distrust, destroys confidence, and introduces confusion into all business and social relations.

There can be no doubt that in these cases just decisions will be rendered. But, whatever the judgment of the court may be, the utmost that the prisoners could gain would be delay,—some few months' longer lease of life: the end would come at last. Evidences of guilt are accumulating, and testimony hitherto unavailable is being obtained.

The verdicts of the juries have received general approval. The penalty for crime is due. The shades of the multitude of murdered men who have fallen innocent victims to "Molly" outrage rise, and with warning gestures and ghostly fingers point to their mourning and bereaved fami-

lies. The memories of the past, the hopes of the future, forbid any thoughts of relenting.

That so many should suffer the extreme penalty of the law excites a feeling of repulsion and horror. It is upon an understanding of this feeling that the "Mollies" found their opinion that the authorities "dare" not hang so many. In their own case they err; as to them there "dare" be no thought of mercy.

Justice demands that for their own foul deeds the condemned shall suffer punishment. By the community their punishment is required, not only in expiation of their own crimes, but also by reason of the crimes of the order in years gone by. In the future, for a single "Molly" outrage the whole order will be held responsible.

As against the condemned as individuals, vindictive, revengeful feeling has passed away. But none the less must the stern reality be appreciated. The penalty of death for murder will be inflicted.

From the judgment of man there can be no appeal on earth. Earthly hope must pass away. But in appeal to Him whose "mercy is everlasting and endureth forever," there is a hope beyond the grave. If such appeal is made in true repentance, and with humble and contrite heart, "though sins be as red as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow; though their wickedness shall have gone over their heads, yet shall they not be their destruction." The thief in his last dying agonies on the cross asked for pardon, and it was granted; and to the soul parting from its earthly tenement the promise yet remains, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF OUTRAGES

IN

SCHUYLKILL AND SHAMOKIN REGIONS.

PUBLISHED IN CONNECTION WITH THE SPEECH OF F. B. GOWEN, ESQ., BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, JULY 29 AND 30, 1875.

1874.

December 13.—John Taylor, inside foreman at Richardson colliery, received a threatening notice to leave. See notice marked "A." George Rose, watchman at Indian Ridge, warned by two strangers not to go down the shaft of the colliery to grease the pumps, as in their opinion it was not his duty, but that of the fireman.

December 28.—Communication marked "I" was received by Mr. J. H. Olhausen, superintendent Mahanoy and Shamokin branch.

1875.

January.—Three tunnel contractors at Preston No. 2 colliery, John Finigan, Samuel Davies, William Williams, were notified to cease driving a tunnel, or submit to a fine of fifty dollars each, imposed by the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association.

February 14.—About four o'clock in the morning, the shaft-frame at the West Norwegian shaft was destroyed by fire, the work of an incendiary.

February 24.—A mysterious fire occurred at the East shaft about nine o'clock at night, originating in the fan-house, where there was kept a

limited quantity of giant powder; there being no fire near at hand at the time, no cause can be given for the fire other than that of incendiarism.

February 26.—Burning of giant powder at the Norwegian shaft; supposed to have been the work of an incendiary.

February 28.—House burned down by parties unknown, at Richardson colliery.

March 19.—J. Showerley, watchman at Ellsworth colliery, beaten and his revolver taken from him.

March 19.—Communication marked "III." was received by Mr. Olhausen.

March 20.—Watchman at Mine Hill Gap colliery beaten and tied with a rope; watch stolen.

March 25.—Train-employees of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company quartered at Ashland were molested by parties of men. These persons endeavored by threats and persuasion to intimidate the men and induce them to leave the service of the company.

March 25.—Telegraph-office at Locust Summit destroyed by an incendiary.

March 25.—Thirty-two cars loaded with coal dumped on track at Locust Gap, and six at Excelsior.

March 25.—A train of one hundred loaded cars were started down the grade and run off the track on Excelsior branch. Eight of the cars were badly broken in consequence. Damage, three hundred dollars. A few men at Palo Alto renounce the M. & W. B. A.

March 26.—Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company engine No. 288 ran off the track at Mine Hill crossing.

March 26.—Unknown parties dumped twenty-nine loaded coal-cars on siding at Locust Gap Junction.

March 26.—Six loaded coal-cars dumped by unknown parties at Enterprise siding.

March 27.—Train-hands on Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company's train stoned at Locust Gap. A number of men sent from Reading were met on their arrival at Gordon by a party of persons and persuaded not to go to work.

March 28.—Warehouse Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company at Mount Carmel broken open, and three barrels flour, six hundred pounds fish, and one barrel butter stolen. Tool-house broken open and tools stolen.

March 29.—A large number of persons congregated at and near Locust Gap and stoned the crews of passing coal-trains.

March 30.—Switch turned wrong and spiked at Shenandoah Junction; mixed train engine off the track in consequence.

March 30.—Tool-house No. 5 broken open and tools stolen. Notice left there addressed to Daniel Yost, boss of section. New men were threatened, and left, saying they were afraid to work.

March 31.—House-car burned and totally destroyed on siding at Excelsior. Loss, six hundred dollars.

March 31.—A party of men boarded a coal-train between Locust Gap and Alaska stations, drove off the engineer and crew, damaged the engine, and blocked the road with stones.

March 31.—Parade of miners and railroad-men at Gordon. A large number of miners from Heckscherville on way to Gordon to participate took possession of coal-trains, and on arrival at head of plane compelled the plane-hands to run them down to Gordon. The men employed at the planes were also notified to quit work or abide the consequences. The strikers stated that after the parade they would go through the shops and compel all the men to quit work; which no doubt would have been carried into effect had it not been for an accident which occurred, resulting from the premature discharge of a cannon which the strikers were using to fire a salute, and by which three men were injured, one of them fatally. Track barricaded near Locust Gap with stones and railroad-sills, train-men stoned and shot at by parties with muskets and other fire-arms. The mob took possession of engine No. 260, a revolver pointed at the head of the engineer, Hiram Trout, and told to clear out or they would blow his brains out. Engine No. 260 was left in the hands of the mob; three engines following, having been warned of the trouble ahead, returned with their trains to Alaska. They were, however, together with train No. 260, subsequently brought safely to Gordon. Damage sustained by engine No. 260 at the hands of the mob was seventy-five dollars. A large and excited mob awaited the arrival of the train-men at their boarding-house in Ashland, and this, together with the previous occurrences of the day, rendered it necessary to withdraw the men from the region until other arrangements could be made.

March —.—Indian Ridge and Plank Ridge collieries. Threats made by strange men at two different times to burn breakers of the company if work was not soon started. Governor Hartranft consulted.

April 1.—No movement of coal trade to-day. Company's property guarded by police force. Sheriff Werner, of Schuylkill County, applied to for protection.

April 1.—Threatening notices posted at Colket & Newkirk collieries. See notice marked "B."

April 1.—Repairs-men Thomas Catalow, Henry Fulke, and Philip Blake, on Preston branch, Mahanoy and Shamokin Railroad, threatened with violence if they did not quit work.

April 2.—Switch-lock broken and switch misplaced near Mahanoy City, throwing freight-train off track and engine and portion of train down the bank.

April 2.—Engine No. 237, on freight-train No. 11, was run over an embankment at Elmwood colliery, a switch having been misplaced by some unknown person. Damage, one hundred and ten dollars. Sheriff Werner distributed his proclamation through the riotous region. Governor Hartranft also issued his proclamation.

April 2.—A large party of men and boys boarded a freight-train at Mahanoy City in defiance of the crew. They were driven off by aid of Sheriff Weaver and police force.

April 2.—An attempt made to burn the office of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company at Tuscarora.

April 2.—John Stephens, a brakeman, living at Mahanoy Plane, shot at and stoned for refusing to unite with the strikers. The sheriff of Northumberland promised to be at Locust Gap next morning. No movement of the coal trade.

April 3.—Twelve empty coal-cars run off the track by unknown persons at Hillside colliery. Damage, twenty-five dollars.

April 3.—Two freight-cars run off the track at Ellangowan colliery by unknown party. Damage, two thousand and eighteen dollars.

April 6.—Tool-house at Locust Gap thrown into the creek.

April 7.—A piece of iron was found wedged in a frog on the main track east of Mahanoy Plane. It was discovered in time to prevent damage.

April 7.—A loaded car at Burnside colliery siding was started down the grade by parties unknown.

April 7.—A pistol notice was fastened to blacksmith-shop at Newkirk colliery. See notice "C."

April 8.—Attempt made to run loaded cars down the grade at Burnside colliery.

April 12.—A car started on Heckscher branch, near Shenandoah, running down main line of Shenandoah branch about the time the passenger-train from Mahanoy Plane to Shenandoah was due.

April 12.—Switch and two caution-boards torn out at Wadesville, Mount Carbon Railroad.

April 12.—A half-drift wagon-wheel placed between two sills on the track at Horseshoe curve, Mine Hill Railroad.

April 15.—Switch-lock broken at Glendower, Mine Hill Railroad.

April 17.—Block of houses at Bast colliery burned by parties unknown.

April 18.—Two mules stolen from stable of the West Shenandoah colliery found the next day near Conner's mines.

April 21.—Men about starting to work in Greenback colliery deterred by threats and abusive language.

April 19.—Tool-house No. 6, above Landingville, was broken into, tools taken out and thrown down the bank, and the hand-truck at tool-house was disposed of in the same way. William Timmins, Benjamin Gough, Joseph Gough, West Shenandoah colliery, were intimidated and stopped from working by a party of men, and again on May 13 were told by them that they would be reported to the M. & L. B. A. and be fined fifty dollars.

April 22.—Hose of water columns at Mahanoy Plane, Gordon, and Excelsior cut.

April 22.—Two gondola-cars, loaded with ties at Excelsior, set on fire.

April 22.—Switch at Enterprise Junction set wrong and rails blocked; obstruction removed before damage resulted.

April 22.—Special policeman Doolan, while in discharge of duty on train, attacked by five men, thrown from the train, and severely beaten.

April 23.—Two railroad employees, Frank Backman and Owen Lawrence, having resigned their connection with their Union and agreed to go to work, their houses were visited by strikers, shots fired, and threatening language used to stop them from working.

April 28.—House of Christian Calleary, miner, at Bast colliery, stoned, windows broken, and damage done to furniture.

April 29.—Freight depot at Mount Carmel broken into, and provisions stolen.

April 29.—Three pistol notices posted at North Franklin collieries, where men were working at reduced wages. See "D," "E," "G."

At different times during April, the following men, working at the North Franklin collieries, were subjected to abuse, and their houses stoned and furniture damaged by strikers: Peter Hoffman, abusive language used and windows of house broken; Henry Lagerman, Sr., windows broken; Henry Lagerman, Jr., abused; Peter Strasser, windows broken; David Strasser, windows broken; Henry Rhoads,

abused for working; Eliza D. Jones saw and heard parties planning to burn the breaker.

May 1.—Freight-car at Locust Gap broken open, and flour and feed stolen to the amount of thirty-five dollars.

May 2.—The houses of men at Gordon, who had left the Miners' and Workingmen's Benevolent Association and gone to work, were visited at night by parties, threats made, and shots fired.

May 3.—Freight-cars started from siding at Mahanoy City by some persons unknown, and run off the track at main road switch.

May 3.—Obstructions placed on track below Girardville.

May 3.—Engine "Gem" was stoned while passing through Girardville at about nine P.M.

May 4.—Ben Franklin colliery burned; the work of an incendiary.

May 4.—A watchman and two other men at Helfenstein colliery driven off by an armed party.

May 4.—Watchman at Locust Gap beaten and watch stolen; watch returned.

May 5.—Oil-house at Locust Summit, used as a temporary telegraph-office, burned.

May 5.—Stable at Locust Spring colliery robbed of thirty bushels of corn and oats.

May 5.—Heavy wire rope at Gordon Plane No. 1 cut. Loss about five hundred dollars. Telegraph-office at Locust Summit again destroyed by fire. Loss, two hundred and fifty dollars.

May 6.—Attempt made to destroy the trestles at Locust Gap by boring holes in the timbers and charging them with dualin. George Keich and Wenscle, working at Newkirk colliery, were told that it was a pity they were not both killed, and if they were not careful they would be attacked on their way home.

May 7.—At Excelsior Summit, Locust Gap, and Garretson's, the hose was cut from the water columns and tanks by unknown persons.

May 9.—Breaker of Enterprise colliery destroyed by fire; supposed to be the work of an incendiary.

May 10.—A mob of about two hundred and fifty armed men stopped the men who were about starting to work at Hickory Ridge colliery, maltreating the mine boss. Some party drove off the workmen at the Lancaster colliery. An incendiary notice served on a man at a Mount Carmel colliery. (See notice marked "F.") Charles Shaffstal, West Brookside colliery, threatened and abused with bad language at Tower City for working.

May 11.—Assistant foreman Henry Lloyd, at Beechwood colliery, badly beaten by strange men.

May 13.—Stones, logs, etc., placed on track between Mahanoy City and St. Nicholas.

May 14.—Michael Laffy, a workman at Beechwood colliery, fired at on his return home from work.

May 18.—John Veith, district superintendent at Locust Gap, house stoned and window broken.

May 19.—Signal tower at Mahanoy Plane, east of Bear Ridge colliery No. 2, burned at four o'clock A.M.

May 19.—Ticket- and telegraph-office at Excelsior station burned at about two A.M.

No date.—George Woart worked at East Franklin colliery, but was so abused by being called blackleg and other names that he was obliged to stop work and move his family to Tremont.

May 20.—A party of about twenty strikers attacked men working at Newkirk colliery. Two of the workmen wounded.

May 25.—Carpenter-shop at Palo Alto broken into, and a lot of tools to the value of thirty-five dollars stolen. Railroad iron and sills were placed upon the track at two points between Excelsior and Shamokin, by some unknown person, supposed with the intention of throwing passenger-train from the track. The obstructions were removed by the engine attached to passenger-train without damage.

June 2.—Obstructions were placed upon track on Shenandoah branch by some persons unknown, with the intention of throwing passenger-train from the track. The obstructions were discovered and removed before arrival of the train.

June 3.—Engine "Gem," conveying Mr. J. H. Olhausen, superintendent, was fired at when near Mahanoy City by some persons unknown. No injury sustained.

June 3.—In the morning about seven o'clock, a large body of men, estimated to be from five hundred to one thousand in number, from Hazleton and vicinity, made their appearance in the neighborhood of Mahanoy City and stopped the men working the North Mahanoy, Primrose, Jones, Ward & Oliver's, Beaver Run, and Hartford collieries. About twelve o'clock a mob of men from Shenandoah and other localities in this region, numbering about twelve hundred, marched through Mahanoy City. Their first act was to demand the release from the lock-up of a man who had been arrested in the morning by the chief burgess; this they effected by paying the fine. At two o'clock several hundred of the mob gathered at the colliery worked by King, Tyler & Co., and

compelled their men to quit work. Sheriff Werner ordered the rioters to disperse, and was reading the riot act, when he and his posse were fired upon by the rioters. Two policemen of the Mahanoy City force were slightly wounded. After this attack, the mob marched to St. Nicholas colliery and dispersed. Governor Hartranft, having been called upon, ordered companies of troops to Mahanoy City and Shenandoah to protect lives and property. On the morning of same day (June 3) a large body of men gathered about the West Shenandoah colliery, threatening to stop the men working there, but were prevented from making an attack by the force of armed police under Joseph Heisler. An attempt was made to throw the night passenger-train to Shenandoah from the track, by obstructing the road with stones, but the attempt was discovered in time to prevent an accident. A party of about thirty men, towards evening, while still daylight, went to the colliery worked by William Schwenk, near Mount Carmel, and deliberately fired the breaker, standing around until it was consumed. The colliery had worked since June 1 at reduced wages.

June 4.—Just before daylight, a body of men fired upon the police guarding the Centennial colliery, near Shenandoah, but, their fire being returned with effect, they dispersed without further attempt. A party of men left St. Clair in the morning, going in the direction of New Castle, stopped the men working for Joseph Denning screening coal-banks, also the men working at Ellsworth colliery. In the afternoon a party visited Mine Hill Gap and Beechwood collieries, but did nothing aggressive.

June 8.—Some of the men going to work at the Locust Run colliery were driven back by a mob. The same day the party molested the platform-men at Locust Run colliery and drove two men home.

June 9.—One of the workmen at Eagle Hill colliery attacked by two discharged men.

June 12.—At about half-past three o'clock P. M., Robert Gilgore and James O'Leary, contractors at the Oakdale colliery, left the mines to return to Forestville, their residence. As they were crossing the mountain lying between Oakdale and Forestville, they were fired upon from the bushes by three men armed with shot-guns. O'Leary was shot in the arm in three places; Gilgore received a great number of shot in his arms, hands, and lower limbs. The persons who made the attack were unknown to Gilgore and O'Leary.

June 28.—About five o'clock in the morning, William Thomas was attacked in the stable of the Shoemaker colliery, near Mahanoy City, by seven strange men, firing at him several times, striking him in three

places,—in the neck, leg, and about the front of the body. During the firing a horse was killed, and a mule was shot in the leg. Thomas's injuries were not dangerous. John Blair, engineer, and Thomas Chapman, stable boss, were in the stable at the time.

July 4.—At the Centralia colliery, the night engineer of pumping-engine was fired upon by two men from door of engine-house, but was not injured. The two former engineers, James McBraerty and Patrick Devine, had struck against a reduction of wages, and the man fired at had taken one of their places.

July 6.—About half-past two o'clock in the morning, police officer Frank Yost, of the Tamaqua police, was shot by two men in Tamaqua. He lived until about ten o'clock that morning. Officer McCarron, who was standing across the street, fired at the men, but hit neither of them. At the time Yost was shot, he was on a ladder, at a lamp-post, turning off the gas. The night was very dark.

July 15.—Another attempt was made to assassinate William Thomas. He had just got into a passenger-car at the Lehigh Valley Railroad depot, at Mahanoy City, for the purpose of going home to Shoemaker's colliery, when he noticed several rough-looking men watching him. Immediately surmising their object, he started to go out of the car, the train just leaving the depot, and as he jumped from the car a shot was fired at him from the platform, but without effect. This party were also strangers.

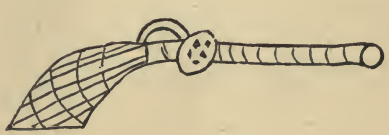
A.

Mr. John Taylor—Please leave Glen Carbon, or if you dont you will suffer; by order of the B. S. H. We will give you one week to go but if you are alive on next Saturday you will die: Remember and leave.

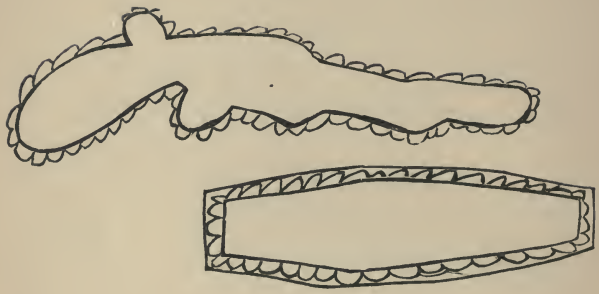
(No signature.)

B.

Now men i have warented ye before and i willnt warind you no mor —but i will gwrintee yo the will be the report of the revolver.



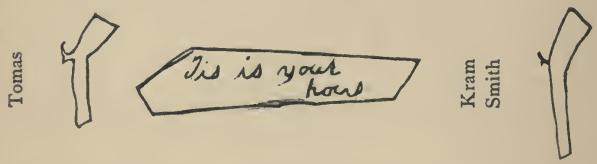
C.



Notice is here given to you men the first and the last Notice that you will get for no man to go Down this slope After to Night if yo Do you Can Bring your Coffion Along With you for By the internal Crist We mean What this Notice says you Drift man stop at home and Cut no more Coal let him go and get Coal himself I Dont mean Engineer or firemans let them mine there one Work now men the Next Notice you Will get I Dont mean to Do it with my Pen I Will Do it With that there Rolver I Don't Want no more Black legs at this Collary.

(No signature.)

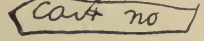
D.



Notice you have Caried this as far as you can By cheating thy men you three Bosses Be Carefull if the Above dont Be your home in a short Time.

From a Stranger
he nowes you

E.

Take notice Aneny Black Leg that will Take Aney Eunnion man Plac will have A hard Road to travel you will Rot in this shape if you wish
to Escape this home 

Coal

By a stranger

F.

If Thomas Martin Dont Stop we will burn down his Breaker.

(No signature.)

G.

NOTICE.

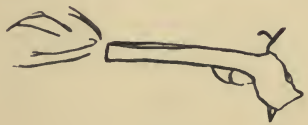
Any blackleg that takes a Union Mans job while He is standing for His Rights will have a hard Road to travel and if He dont he will have to Suffer the consequences

Beacher and Tilton

H

NOTICE.

Any man Starting to Work on the rail road now going to begin under the basis will have to Stand the consequnces. So black legs to notice.



M. M. N.

Black Legs Take Notice—

that you are in dang er of your Life by working in the mines without the Consent of the union men of Swatara Branch 14 Dis
at Middle Crick mines.

I.

Frackville Dec. 28, 1874

J. H. OLHAUSEN
Supt
Dear Sir

At a special meeting of Branch No. 3 of the M. W. B. Ass. Members of the Branch comprising the whole working force of the Road Plane and Level. that they have decided to quit work at 6 o'clock P. M. New Year eve for to attend their first Annual Ball. Hoping that you will arrange accordingly with this committee who will present you. with this copy

I remain Yours truly

W. F. Payne Prest
Chas Hartsog Secty

II.

Gordon Feb 9, 1875.

The employees of gordon members of the M. W. B. A. of gordon do petition officers of the M. H. M. S. divission to grant us the privillege of going to work at 7 o'clock A. M. but no later than seven but are willing to go to work before seven if the officers want us to do so 2nd that when engine or crew goes out at 7 o'clock A. M. and comes in at 6 o'clock P. M. that they receive a day for it the same as they get on other parts of the divission 3nd when an engine with a regular crew is sent to work on another part of this divission the crew belongs to said engine to go along with her for it has been a practice when an Engine was wanted at Shamokin and other parts of the divission the engine was sent and the regular crew of said engine had to lay off the

employees at gordon do ask as a favor the officers of this divission to have those matters settled. we remain

Respectfully your Committe.

P. H. Nolan T. J. Smith
C. A. Miller C. S. Wilson

III.

Moh Plane Mar. 19 1875
J. H. Olhausen Supt

The following resolution were passed by Branch No. 3. of M. & W. B. Ass. That all Branches of Industry cease work to-morrow morning Sat. Mar 20 | 75 and will not work till such members as were descharged are reinstated

By order of the Branch

Chas Hartsog
Secty

IV.

(Notice found posted at Locust Summit, March 31, 1875.)

NOTICE

Mr. Black-legs if you dont leave in 2 days time you meet your doom their will Bee an open war

imeateatly

V.

(Notice found in yard of D. Patchen, Engineer, Cressona.)

from the gap Daniel Patch

remember you will be running in this coal region at night you took an nother mans engin we will give you fair warning in time and some more. V. L.

M. M. H. S. T.

VI.

we hear notify you to leave th Road for you took a nother man chop take a warning to Save your live

to Yost

(From the *Miners' Journal*, March 30, 1867.)

MURDERS IN SCHUYLKILL COUNTY DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS.

As considerable attention is now paid by the press abroad to the terrible prevalence of crime in Schuylkill County and the insecurity of life and property, and as legislation is asked on this important matter, we publish below the murders known to have been committed in this county from January 1, 1863, to this date. The list is a startling record.

1863.

January 2.—James Bergen, killed by shooting, Coal Castle.

March 3.—Mary Cochlin, killed by ill-treatment from her husband, Pottsville.

April 6.—Ellen Shay, killed by her husband, Timothy Shay, St. Clair.

April 8.—Joseph Riland, killed by Felix Cilley, Pottsville.

April 26.—Patrick Gillon, killed by A. Leary, by stabbing, Norwegian Township.

August 15.—Daniel Eckerly, killed by James Burk, by stabbing, Ashland.

August 23.—Gilmore, killed by cause unknown, Pottsville.

August 30.—John W. W. Noble, killed by shooting with a pistol, Pottsville.

September 25.—Charles Mendham, killed by shooting, Pottsville.

October 17.—Patrick J. Hassey, killed by shooting, St. Clair.

November 17.—Margaret Brown, killed by kicks and blows, Norwegian Township.

November 2.—Man unknown, killed by cause unknown, Tremont Township.

November 13.—David Davis, killed by cause unknown, Mount Laffee.

1864.

January 12.—Patrick Ormsby, killed by pistol-shot, Mahanoy Township.

February 13.—Hiram Freher, killed by beating, Tremont Township.

February 27.—John Stinson, killed by stabbing, Blythe Township.

February 27.—James Shiels, killed by Hugh Curran, by stabbing, Blythe Township.

March 17.—Mary Brennan, killed by cause unknown, Cass Township.

April 11.—Michael Curren, killed by John Britt, by shooting, Mine Hill Gap.

August 14.—Alice Devlan, killed by cause unknown, Cass Township.

August 21.—Unknown man killed by being mutilated, Mahanoy Township.

August 29.—Elizabeth O'Brien, killed by cause unknown, Cass Township.

September 11.—Robert Gardner, killed by clubs and axes by Dennis Aiken, John Donnelly, and a man unknown, Tremont Township.

October 10.—Michael Bemerick, killed by shooting, Minersville.

October 11.—George W. Thompson, killed by violence, Tremont Township.

November 10.—Reese Jenkins, killed by pistol-shot, Mahanoy City.

November 20.—John Lawler, killed by Patrick Dolan, by stabbing, Foster Township.

1865.

January 3.—Edward McAtee, killed by Andrew Sorocco, blows and kicks, Pottsville.

January 18.—Michael Darken, killed by Michael Merrick, by shooting, St. Clair.

May 15.—William Williams, killed by John Barnet, by shooting, Blythe Township.

June 16.—William A. Boyle, killed by cause unknown, Pottsville.

April 3.—Enoch Evans, killed by Lewis Hurtig, by stabbing, Port Carbon.

April 30.—Patrick Clawes, killed by James Brennan, by pistol-shot, Shenandoah City.

April 30.—Michael Clawes, killed by James Brennan and John Delaney, by pistol-shot, Shenandoah City.

July 2.—Thomas J. Hagerty, killed by Hugh Riddle, by stabbing, North Manheim Township.

August 14.—Nicholas Burkhard, killed by shooting, Pottsville.

August 25.—David Muir, killed by shooting, Reilly Township.

October 23.—John McMachy, killed by Patrick Delaney, by stabbing, Foster Township.

December 25.—Albert Pittz, killed by Thomas Griffith, by blow, Locust Dale.

1866.

January 10.—H. H. Dunne, killed by shooting, Norwegian Township.

January 19.—Mark Mala, killed by Thomas McAnalley, by shooting, Mahanoy Township.

April 2.—Patrick Dooling, shot and killed while attempting to murder Mr. Lewis, boss at Cole's colliery, Mahanoy Township.

July 4.—Lewis Williams, killed by Patrick Conners, by shooting, Llewellyn.

September 9.—George Theobold, killed by unknown person, by shooting, Mahanoy City.

1867.

February 9.—Michael Kain, killed by John Kain, by shooting, New Philadelphia.

February 11.—John Donohoe, shot and killed while attacking Northall's house, Tuscarora.

March 15.—William H. Littlehales, killed by unknown men, by shooting, Cass Township.

March 22.—Patrick Stinson, killed by James Gallagher, by shooting, Mahanoy Township.

March 23.—Jacob Johnson, killed by Irish robber, by shooting, Union Township.

In all, fifty murders.

The murder of Mr. Littlehales and that of Mr. Johnson are too new to need comment.

In 1866 six murderous assaults, in which parties were seriously injured, and twenty-seven robberies recorded.

In 1867, to March 16, there were six murderous assaults and twenty-seven robberies, which we have been called upon to record, independent of the murders.

We have heard of several other murders and homicides, of which the particulars could not be obtained, the bodies having been removed secretly.

But few arrests of the murderers have been made.

TEST, SIGNS, AND PASSWORDS.*

TEST.—I do declare and promise, in the name and through the assistance of the A. O. H., that I will endeavor to keep inviolable all the secrets of this board or fraternal society from all but those I believe to be regular members and bound in the same fraternal ties.

1st. I declare and promise that I will support the present Constitution and By-Laws of the A. O. H. in preference to any other.

2d. That I will be true and steadfast to the brethren of this society, dedicated to Saint Patrick, the holy patron of Ireland, in all things lawful, and not otherwise, and that I will duly and regularly attend when my lawful superiors shall think proper, and conform myself to the regulations made by them, so long as those who are or may be in trust shall think proper.

3d. That I will not knowingly or willingly provoke, challenge, or fight any of my brothers. If a brother should be ill spoken, or otherwise treated unjustly, I will, according to circumstances, espouse his cause and give him the earliest information; aiding him with my sincere friendship when in distress.

4th. I also declare and promise that I will not admit or propose any person of bad or suspicious character into our honorable board knowing him to be such, and that I will endeavor to propagate friendship and brotherly love among such of my acquaintances as may be thought worthy of such confidence.

5th. That I will not at any meeting drink to intoxication, so as to endanger a disclosure of names, regulations, or members thereof.

6th. That in towns and counties I will be attached to our national interest according as opportunity may answer, and I will not wrong a brother to my knowledge.

7th. That I will not withdraw myself from this honorable board or join in society with persons of other denominations, not meaning

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* The test, signs, and passwords here printed were discovered by the detectives and kindly placed at my disposal.—F. P. D.

trade societies, sailors, or soldiers. (This is laid on the floor, then picked up with the right hand and kissed.)

8th. I, ——— ———, having made the above promises of my own free will and accord, may our brethren assist me in my endeavors to fulfill the same and protect our friendship, and grant us to live in a state of grace, that we may show forth to the world that we are true and honorable Knights of St. Patrick! Amen.

SIGNS AND PASSWORDS.

Q. What is the best remedy for Irish grievances?

A. An Irish Parliament in College Green.

Q. Will the Irish hold on for their rights?

A. Yes; their rights they will fight for, and in justice must have.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* What is the meaning of all this?

A. I am insulted.

SIGN.—Two first fingers of the right hand downwards on the apple of the throat.

Answer.—Two first fingers of the left hand to the side of the nose.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May the exiles so noble and brave still firm stand!

A. Yes; for tyrants we make tremble and hope our country to save.

PRIVATE MARK.—Dot on last *o* but one on card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What do you think of our nation?

A. The land question will cause great vexation.

Q. The tory landlords will oppose the bill.

A. Yes; Bishop McHale will praise their master still.

WINTER NIGHT PASSWORDS.—*Q.* The winter nights are sharp and clear.

A. Yes; I hope heresy will soon disappear.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* Friend, do not be too fast.

A. I am too much aggravated.

SIGN.—The right forefinger and thumb to the point of the vest, between second and third button-holes.

Answer.—The left hand to the bottom of the sleeve.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May all Irishmen in peace agree!

A. And in friendship bands our country free.

TOAST.—*Q.* What is the cause of this council at Rome?

A. To show heresy the way to salvation and eternal freedom to gain.

Q. Will the Bishop at Rome Erin's friendship despise?

A. No; it is the key to protection and true faith to keep alive.

WINTER NIGHT PASSWORDS.—*Q.* Dark nights are unpleasant.

A. Yes, for strangers to travel.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* Friend, what is wrong with you?

A. I have reason to complain.

SIGN.—The right hand to the right eyebrow.

Answer.—The left hand to the left eyebrow.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May Erin's sons for tenant rights all agree!

A. Yes, from tithes and taxes we trust to be free.

TOAST.—*Q.* What do the powers of Europe intend to do?

A. To cripple the Church heresy has in view.

Q. If France, Spain, and Austria does firm stand, they will drive Victor Emanuel from the Pope's land?

A. (Not given.)

WINTER NIGHT PASSWORDS.—*Q.* The clouds are heavy.

A. Yes; a storm is approaching.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* What is the offense, sir?

A. It is my fault.

SIGN.—The forefinger of the right hand drawn down on the point of the nose.

Answer.—The forefinger of the left hand drawn over the apple of the throat.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May our race all with us unite!

A. Yes, like Derry and Belfast, to give us liberty and right.

PRIVATE MARK.—A pen-hole through the last *c* on card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What is your opinion of the present state of affairs in France?

A. The Irish President will hold the reins of power.

Q. Will the French unite to avenge their wrongs?

A. Yes; with McMahon at their head they will gain what Napoleon lost.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* Who is in the wrong?

A. Not I, tried and true.

SIGN.—The thumb of the right hand under the chin.

Answer.—The left hand grasping the left collar of the coat.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May the hills and glens of Motherland once more resound to the tramp of the Irish clans!

A. Yes, and place the green victoriously above the red.

PRIVATE MARK.—A dot on the first *m* on the card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What do you think of England's bigotry?

A. Ireland has gained a grand victory. Mr. Butt has let the bigot Saxon see that one noble bishop must be free.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* You are very stiff, sir.

A. I am always so.

SIGN.—Catch the left ear with the right hand.

Answer.—The left hand to the right ear.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May the sons of St. Patrick unite to be free!

A. Yes, and protect the Church against heresy.

PRIVATE MARK.—A dot on the first *v* on the card.

TAST.—*Q.* What is your opinion of the education question?

A. Gladstone is bound to give Ireland her demands.

Q. France is preparing?

A. Yes, and so is the Czar. Yes, and Ireland for her liberty when they proclaim war.

WINTER NIGHT PASSWORDS.—*Q.* The night is on the turn.

A. Yes, so is our enemies.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* You seem unpleasant, sir.

A. Yes, but I see I am astray.

SIGN.—The right hand to the bottom of the vest, and pull down by the waist.

Answer. The left hand on the left hip.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May all Catholic nations unite and agree!

A. Yes, and break down Bismark's plans and protect the Holy See.

PRIVATE MARK.—Make a stroke across the last *a* on card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What is your opinion of the coming election?

A. We hope rulers will carry the sway.

Q. Ireland must get what she wants.

A. Yes, with the united action of the clergy and people.

WINTER NIGHT PASSWORDS.—*Q.* There is a change on the nights.

A. The times are also changing.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* Be not afraid.

A. I will not disgrace my country.

SIGN.—Rub with the middle finger of the right hand inside the right side of shirt neck.

Answer. The middle finger of the left hand inside the left side of shirt-neck.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May the President of France and Don Carlos of Spain unite to restore the Pope back to his right again!

A. (Not given.)

PRIVATE MARK.—A dot on first *c* on card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What do you think of the Liberal cause?

A. They have made a great change in the country's laws.

Q. Yes, the tories' power is not so great.

A. Yes, we have a change in the power of state.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* For what do you quarrel, sir?

A. For want of patience.

SIGN.—The two first fingers of the right hand to the chin.

Answer.—The left hand to the left eyebrow.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May our cause now be firm, for the day is at hand!

A. Yes, when tyrants may tremble and flee from our land.

PRIVATE MARK.—Pen-hole through last *s* on card.

TOAST.—*Q.* What is your opinion of the land bill?

Gladstone holds our country in bondage still.

A. Yes, if we had honest men our cause to take

We by union could have a power in state.

QUARRELING TOAST.—*Q.* Why do you ruffle me, sir?

A. I am sorry for it.

SIGN.—The right hand to the lower lip, pulling it down.

Answer.—The left hand to the right elbow, with a rub.

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—*Q.* May our union be firm and true!

A. Yes, our cause has done great work, and still has more to do.

PRIVATE MARK.—Dot on first *c* on card.

(From the *Shenandoah Herald*, June 8, 1876.)

When affairs in this county were in a very different condition from what they are in to-day, the following letter was received by the editor of the *Herald*:

"GIRARDVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.

"DEAR SIR:" (The first few lines refer to a matter of business,—the printing of some Ancient Order of Hibernia charters,—upon which the writer wishes no remarks to be made.) "I am surprised at the zest displayed by you through the medium of the daily (*Herald*) on the situation of affairs in the county, and believe that the stand taken by you is unwarrantable. We are thoroughly aware that lawless acts have been committed during the past few months, but does the

'REIGN OF TERROR'

facilitate a return to quietness and good feeling? I am deeply interested in this matter, for I am under the impression, which has been

conveyed to my mind from the remarks of various journals, that with *them* 'Mollie Maguireism' is made synonymous with the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which is a chartered organization, recognized by the Commonwealth, and composed of men who are law-abiding and seek the elevation of their members. It was only a few days since one of the county journals asserted that Mr. Collin, candidate for County Commissioner, was a 'Mollie Maguire,' and, on being contradicted, asked if he were not a Hibernian, thus making, as I have said, the one synonymous with the other. Now, nothing can be more unjust than to charge the order with any acts of lawlessness, and nothing can be more inconsistent with the wishes of the people than the agitation of this matter by the leading papers of this county. The articles which have appeared on this matter have done an incalculable amount of harm, and, as a friend to law and order, I *would* advise their cessation. I speak from experience in this matter, and I dare assert that the unnecessary

FIRING OF FIRE-ARMS

throughout the county, and other minor deeds of lawlessness, are committed by men who are the drones of society, and who hope by these means to receive an appointment which, though they are unable to sustain, would afford them an indolent living.

"I am yours respectfully,

"JOHN KEHOE, *C. D. A. O. H.*

"October 10, 1875."

THE END.

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THE
CARD
FROM
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